Translation of Culture-Specific Items from English into Arabic in Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*

Samia Aljabri, Umm Al-Qura University

Abstract

This paper examines the translation of culture-specific items (CSIs) from English into Arabic. It aims to identify the strategies used by Arab translators in rendering CSIs in Hemingway's novella The Old Man and the Sea *(1952). This descriptive corpus-based research compares three Arabic translations with their English original to examine the strategies followed in translating the CSIs. The study found that source language (SL)-oriented strategies outnumber target language (TL)-oriented strategies in the translations of the CSIs in the novella, with conservation strategies used most frequently by the Arab translators. This indicates a tendency to recreate the SL culture in the Arabic translations.*

Keywords*: culture-specific items, strategies,* The Old Man and the Sea*, proper nouns, common expressions, culture*

Introduction

Culture, Language, and Translation

Culture has been variously defined in many disciplines, including anthropology, sociology and ethnography. Katan (1999: 16) indicates that even though people know to which culture they belong, defining the word *culture* "has been notoriously difficult". He quotes the well-known definition formulated by the anthropologist Edward Taylor that "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (quoted in Katan 1999: 16). Katan defines culture as "a shared mental model or map of the world"; and explains that this model is "a system of congruent and interrelated beliefs, values, strategies and cognitive environments which guide the shared basis of behaviour" (Katan 1999: 17). He adds that most definitions of culture relate to these aspects. Similarly, Larson defines culture as "a complex of beliefs, attitudes, values, and rules which a group of people share" (Larson 1998: 431).

In this paper, I am interested in definitions of culture that come from a linguistic perspective. Newmark (1988: 94), for instance, defines culture as "a way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression". However, he does not consider language as a component of culture. He states, "if it were so, translation would be impossible" (Newmark 1988: 95). However, he believes that language contains all kinds of "cultural deposits" (Newmark 1988: 95). Other translation scholars, however, assert that "language is a part of a culture" (Vermeer 1989: 222). Regardless of these opposing points of view concerning the relationship between language and culture, the two are undoubtedly inextricably intertwined.

Cultural gaps constitute a primary challenge facing translators. Newmark (2010: 173) states that "culture, whether it is religious, national, occupational, regional—and its reflection in language—is the main barrier to effective and accurate translation". Vermeer (1992: 40) adds that "translation is to be understood as a 'cultural' phenomenon dealing with specific cultures: translation is a culture transcending process." Moreover, Aixela (1996: 53) states that "cultures create a variability factor the translator will have to take into account". Newmark (2010: 172-173) considers culture to be "the greatest obstacle to translation, at least to the achievement of an accurate and decent translation".

Thus, several translation scholars consider differences between the cultures of the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) to be one of the major problems facing translators. These obstacles may be more noticeable when translating between languages that are culturally distant from each other. Nida (2000: 130) states that "when the linguistic and cultural distances between source and receptor codes are least, one should expect to encounter the least number of serious problems". The English and Arabic languages are linguistically and culturally incongruent. In translating between English and Arabic, one might face more difficulties because not only are English and Arabic from two diverse language families, but their cultures are remote from each other. Larson (1998: 138) asserts that "when the cultures are very different, it is often very difficult to find equivalent lexical items". Nida (1964: 130) also notes that "differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure". The more distant the cultures are, the harder it is to find an appropriate word. A translator may find many words in a text that express concepts that are unknown in the TL. Thus, cultural differences constitute the focus of translation theorists who give special emphasis to the translation of culture-specific items (CSIs).

Culture-Specific Items

Various terminologies have been proposed for this concept: Newmark speaks of *cultural words* (1988), Baker of *culture-specific concepts* (2011), Aixela of *culture-specific items* (1993) and Pedersen of *culture-bound references* (2005). There is no agreement with regards to the terminology, the definition or the categorization of the term. The difficulty in defining CSIs occurs because "in a language everything is culturally produced, beginning with language itself" (Aixela 1997: 57). Therefore, it is not easy to draw boundaries between what is considered a CSI and what is not.

Baker (2011: 18) defines a CSI as a word that expresses "a concept which is totally unknown in the target culture". Persson (2015) states that "[c]ulture-specific items are concepts that are specific for a certain culture". Aixela (1996: 85) defines CSIs as:

> *[t]hose textually actualised items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text.* (italicized in original)

Thus, according to Aixela (1996), CSIs are identified with reference to a particular SL and a particular TL: what may be considered a CSI between English and Arabic may not be considered a CSI between English and another language. He states that "in translation, a CSI

does not exist of itself, but as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or to the different value" (Aixela 1996: 57). In short, a CSI is a reference in the SL that does not exist in the TL and reflects a cultural gap.

Translation scholars have not only provided various definitions for the term *CSIs* but have suggested various taxonomies for CSIs. Aixela (1996: 59) states that there are two basic categories of CSIs: proper nouns and common expressions. Baker (1992: 21) divides them into abstract and concrete items. She lists many reasons for non-equivalence between languages and suggests strategies for solving these problems. Newmark (1988: 124) distinguishes cultural words from universal and personal language and mentions that, while there is no problem in translating universal words, there will be a problem in translating cultural words unless there is a cultural overlap between the SL and the TL. Moreover, he suggests six categories of CSIs under the following headings: ecology, public life, social life, personal life, customs and pursuits, and private passions (Newmark 2010: 173-177). Another classification was proposed by Pedersen (2005). He divides culture-bound terms into two categories: intralinguistic references, such as idioms, proverbs, slang and dialects, and extralinguistic references, such as cultural items that are not part of a language system. Additionally, Espindola (2006: 49-50) proposes another categorization of CSIs, which includes toponyms, anthroponyms, forms of entertainment, means of transportation, fictional characters, local institutions, measuring systems, food and drink, scholastic references and religious celebrations. Translation scholars have thus not only offered various definitions and taxonomies for CSIs but have also suggested various strategies for solving the problem of non-equivalence in rendering CSIs.

Culture-Specific Items in Literature

Cultural diversity may be more visible in literary translation: fiction originates in a certain culture and is largely expressed through the use of CSIs. Culture reflects thoughts, traditions and ideas and the literature that expresses them. You can understand a people’s culture by reading their literature. The relationship between culture and literature is bilateral. Literary texts, by and large, have more CSIs, which might make them more enigmatic to target text (TT) readers than other types of text. Works of literature reflect cultures more than other genres, and their translation may cause problems that can be attributed to cultural differences. In addition, some literary works are more heavily loaded with CSIs than others, which makes them harder to translate. Literary translation can be considered communication between two cultures (Jones 2009: 156). Hesaraki (2014: 23) believes that "cultures consist of people's beliefs, traditions in any society, and the literature, on the other hand, discloses these elements in terms of different literature". Thus, when we translate literature, we are translating culture. İşi (2017: xii) indicates that literary pieces reflect the social and cultural aspects of a society. CSIs, in particular, play an important role in conveying the social and cultural setting of a novel, which may be loaded with cultural knowledge unknown to the TL readers. Therefore, literary translation is "a way of cross-cultural communication as it introduces all or part of a particular culture to readers from different cultures" (İşi 2017: xii). Thus, CSIs are more prominent in literature than in other types of texts.

The Study

The present paper aims to examine the translation of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* into Arabic to identify the strategies adopted by its Arab translators in rendering the CSIs. The study will locate the CSIs in Hemingway's classic work, examine the strategies implemented by Arab translators in rendering the CSIs into Arabic, identify the strategies used more frequently by the translators, and decide whether the translators adopted TL-oriented strategies or SL-oriented strategies in rendering the CSIs in the novella. In order to achieve these goals, certain methodologies have been employed. However, before describing the methodology and analysis, I will first discuss the findings of relevant studies on the translation of CSIs in literary works.

Review of Related Literature

The translation of CSIs has been addressed by many translation scholars. Among studies that have analysed the translation of CSIs in literary works, İşi (2017: xii) examines the English translation of CSIs from a Turkish novel. The results indicate that foreignized items significantly outnumber domesticated items; thus, foreignizing as a translation strategy was predominantly used in the transfer of CSIs into English. This means that the "otherness" of the Turkish culture is recreated, to some extent, in the English translation.

Brasienė (2013) analyses the translation of CSIs from English into Lithuanian in Orwell's novel *Down and Out in Paris and London*. The study shows that foreignization was the prevailing strategy used in rendering the CSIs. The study also finds that the dominant translation strategies used for transference of CSIs in this novel were preservation, localization and addition. Persson (2015) investigates the translation problems encountered when translating CSIs in a text about Australian and New Zealand colonial and post-colonial children's literature into Swedish. The study shows that the translation method used depended on the type of CSI. For instance, for the translation of proper nouns, transference was the most commonly used procedure. For social culture CSIs, neutralization was used most frequently.

Sulaibi (2014) discusses the translation of names in *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* into Arabic. The study finds that limited creativity was used: the translation was very strict, and wordplays or other methods of linguistic manipulation were rarely attempted. Sasaninejad and Delpazir (2015) investigate the translation of CSIs from English into Persian. Their analysis reveals that the translator of the novel *Spartacus* adopted a target-oriented approach in translating: the substitution strategy was mostly used by the translator. They assume that the target-oriented approach improved the readability and acceptance among Persian readers (2015: 44).

There are also studies that focus specifically on the translation of Hemingway's novella *The Old Man and the Sea* into various languages. One of them was by Zare-Behtash and Firoozkoohi (2009), who conducted a diachronic study of domestication and foreignization strategies for CSIs in English–Persian translations of six of Hemingway's works, among them *The Old Man and the Sea*. Their study finds that domestication was the most pervasive cultural translation strategy from the 1950s to the 2000s. Another study on the strategies used in the translation of CSIs in *The Old Man and the Sea* into Persian was

conducted by Shahabi and Shams Abad (2016). Their study shows that preservation was the most frequently used strategy in the translation of CSIs.

Alwafai (2015: 320) analyses two translations of *The Old Man and the Sea* into Arabic and concludes that the best translation would consider the contextual and cultural factors in both the SL and the TL. In addition, she maintains that readability and naturalness should be a priority in the translation of literary texts. Alshammari (2016) investigates the translation strategies used by Arab translators in rendering English similes in literary texts and uses the novella *The Old Man and the Sea* as a case study. He concludes that literal translation is the strategy used most in translating similes into Arabic. El-Haddad (1999) investigates the literary aspects of two Arabic translations of *The Old Man and the Sea*. His thesis explores the problems of literary translation from English into Arabic. The present study differs from the above-mentioned studies because it aims to investigate the translation of CSIs in three separate Arabic translations, based on the taxonomy of Aixela.

Methodology

One of Hemingway's masterpieces, *The Old Man and the Sea*, was selected for analysis. Hemingway was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1954 for this novella. The work contains many CSIs, including proper nouns and many references to Cuban society, culture and ecology. Valenti (2002: 4) describes the setting of the plot as a fishing village that represents the working class in Cuba. To portray the Cuban ambiance, Hemingway laces the dialogue between Santiago (the old man) and Manolin (the boy), and also the dialogue of Santiago when he is at sea, with Spanish words. It is a story of an old Cuban fisherman named Santiago who refuses to give up and surrender to his bad luck, despite having gone for eighty-four days without catching a fish. On the eighty-fifth day, he catches a marlin, but unfortunately, the fish is destroyed by sharks. He is alone in his shack again, without having brought any fish to sell at the market.

The Old Man and the Sea is considered a novella or a novelette—longer than a short story but shorter than a novel. It is fifty to one hundred pages long. The novella contains many CSIs related to the sea, fishing, sports and food, some of which are Spanish loan words used by the novelist to add local flavour to the novella. The story has been translated many times into Arabic. Three Arabic translations were selected for analysis: those by Fadhil Habeeb Muhsen (2000; T1), Sameer Ezzat Nassar (2002; T2) and Abdulhameed Zaheed (2007; T3). Other translations of the novella are available, but these particular translations were selected because there is not a significant time gap between their dates of publication, which decreases the number of variables to consider. This is a synchronic study that aims to examine the translations published within a certain period, not to trace changes in translation over time.

Method of Analysis

This is a comparative-descriptive study that seeks to compare the translations with the English original and to investigate the strategies followed in translating the CSIs. To conduct the analysis, a taxonomy of CSIs was adopted from Aixela (1996), Howard (2009) and Newmark (1988). Aixela (1996) suggests two categories of CSIs: proper nouns and common expressions. Proper nouns include both conventional nouns—nouns that do not have any

meaning in and of themselves — and those that are loaded with certain historical and cultural associations. Common expressions include the world of objects, institutions, habits and opinions that are restricted to a culture and cannot be included in the field of proper nouns (Aixela 1996: 59). According to Howard (2009: 1), "proper nouns refer to a specific person, place, or thing, and are usually capitalized". He divides proper nouns into the following categories: each part of a person's name; given or pet names of animals; geographical and celestial names; monuments, buildings and meeting rooms; historical events, documents, laws and periods; months, days of the week and holidays; groups and languages; religions, deities and scriptures; and awards, vehicles, vehicle models and brand names. The categorization proposed by Newmark (1988: 95) was used for the specification of common expressions. He categorizes CSIs into five areas: ecology; material culture; social culture; organizations, customs, activities, procedures and concepts; and gestures and habits.

The identification of CSIs is usually followed by a discussion of the various translation procedures and strategies used in translating them. The diversity of the terminology given to CSIs and their definitions is also reflected in the various classifications and categorizations, and consequently in the translation strategies proposed for rendering CSIs (Newmark 1988, Katan 1999, Aixela 1996, Pedersen 2005, and Baker 2011). Moreover, there is an overlap among the translation strategies used by the various translation scholars. Davies (2003:70) asserts that there is correspondence between Newmark's componential analysis and Katan's chunking down. There is also correspondence between Baker's cultural substitution and Newmark's cultural equivalence.

This study adopts the translation procedures proposed by Aixela (1996) for its practical implementation. In addition, his taxonomy of translation strategies, along the continuum between SL-oriented strategies and TL-oriented strategies, is related to the objectives of the study. Aixela (1996) classifies the strategies into two main types: conservation and substitution. The former implies acceptance of the differences by "means of the reproduction of the cultural signs in the source text", while the latter refers to naturalization, or "transformation of the other into a cultural replica" (Aixela 1996: 54). The choice between the two shows "the degree of tolerance of the receiving society" (Aixela 1996: 54). The strategies are ordered according to their degree of "intercultural manipulation" (Aixela 1996: 60).

Procedure

The novella was meticulously read, and the three translations were examined. The CSIs were located, categorized, classified and grouped according to Aixela's (1996) classification of translation strategies. For each CSI found, a comparison was drawn between the English CSI and its Arabic translations. The CSIs were listed with their Arabic translations. The type of translation procedure was determined according to the method of analysis used. The data were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively.

Analysis and Results

The corpus of the study revealed 115 instances of CSIs: 48 of them were common expressions and 67 were proper nouns (see Table 1).

Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*		
CSIs	Number of CSIs	Percentage
Common expressions	48	37%
Proper nouns	67	63%
Total number of CSIs	115	100%

Table 1: Number of CSIs in Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*

The researcher examined the strategies implemented by the three translators in translating the two types of CSI and found that the strategies most frequently used were conservation strategies—that is, SL-oriented strategies. This indicates, as shown in Figure 1, that the translators were consistent in their application of translation strategies, regardless of the type of CSI.

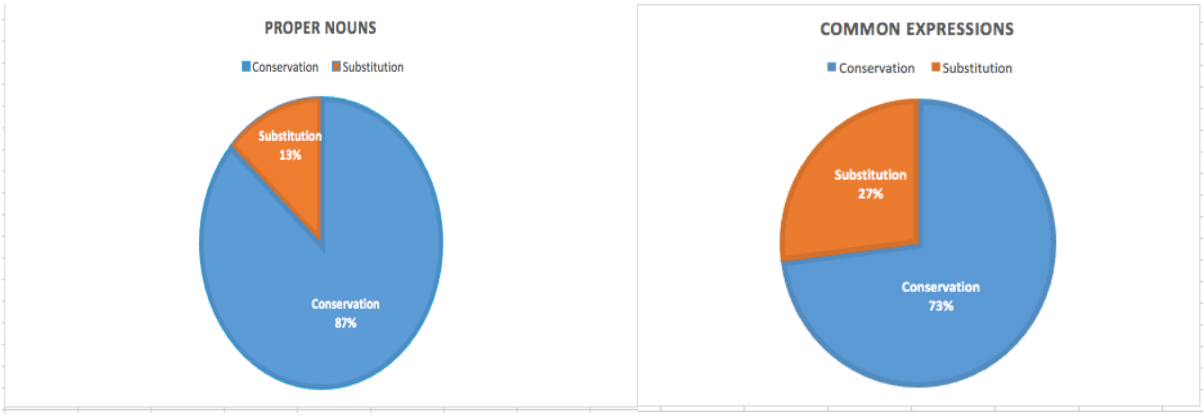
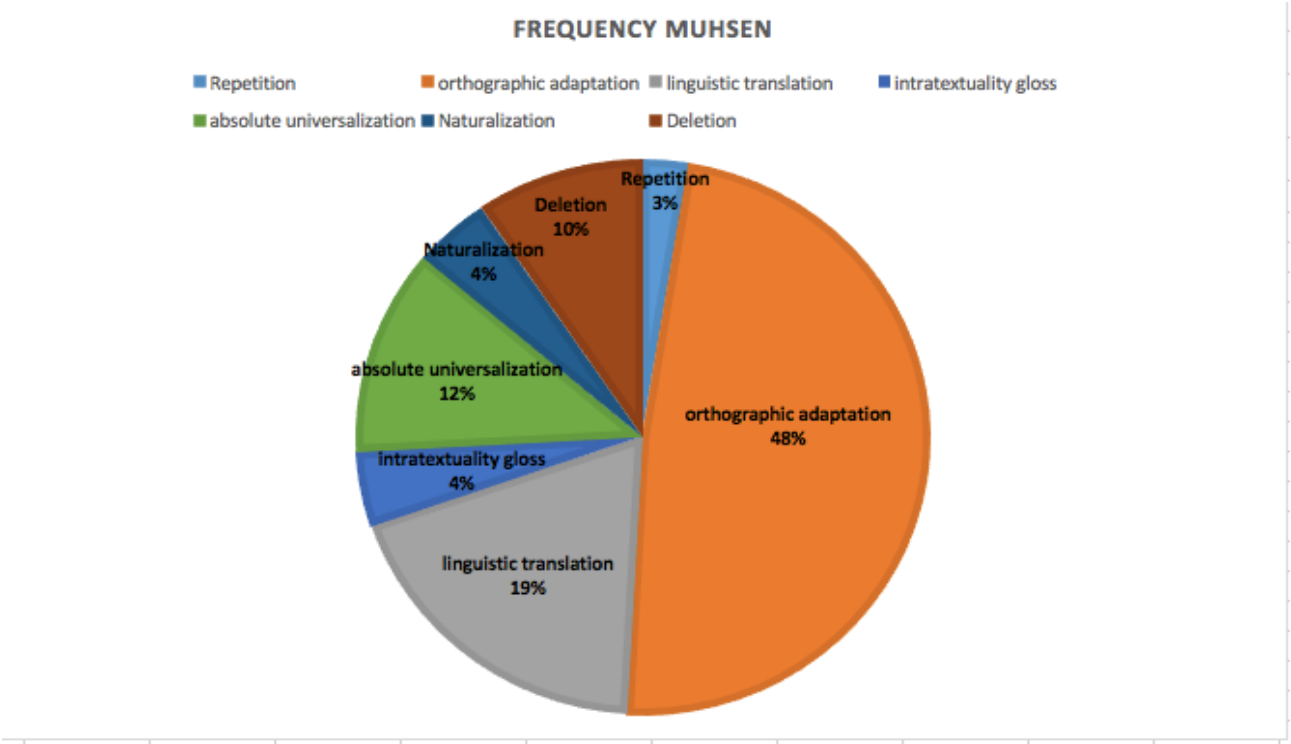
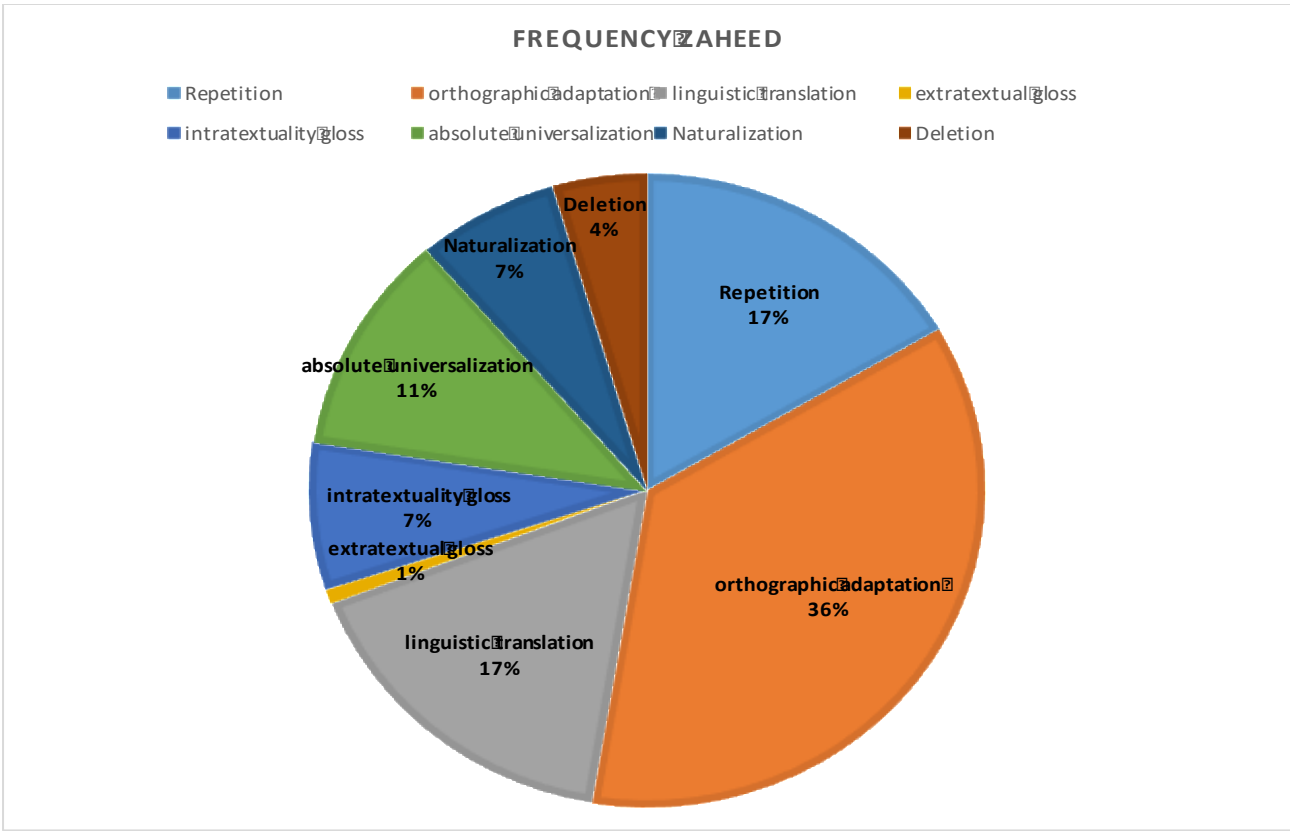


Figure 1: Strategies used in translating the two types of CSI in the novella

The strategies used in translating the CSIs in the novella were similar among all three Arab translators: they followed conservation strategies more than substitution strategies and the frequency of these strategies was similar among them (see Figure 2).


FREQUENCY MUHSEN
Repetition
orthographic adaptation
linguistic translation
intratextuality gloss
absolute universalization
Naturalization
Deletion
Repetition 3%
orthographic adaptation 48%
linguistic translation 19%
intratextuality gloss 4%
absolute universalization 12%
Naturalization 4%
Deletion 10%


FREQUENCY ZAHEED
Repetition
orthographic adaptation
linguistic translation
extratextual gloss
intratextuality gloss
absolute universalization
Naturalization
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Repetition 17%
orthographic adaptation 36%
linguistic translation 17%
extratextual gloss 1%
intratextuality gloss 7%
absolute universalization 11%
Naturalization 7%
Deletion 4%

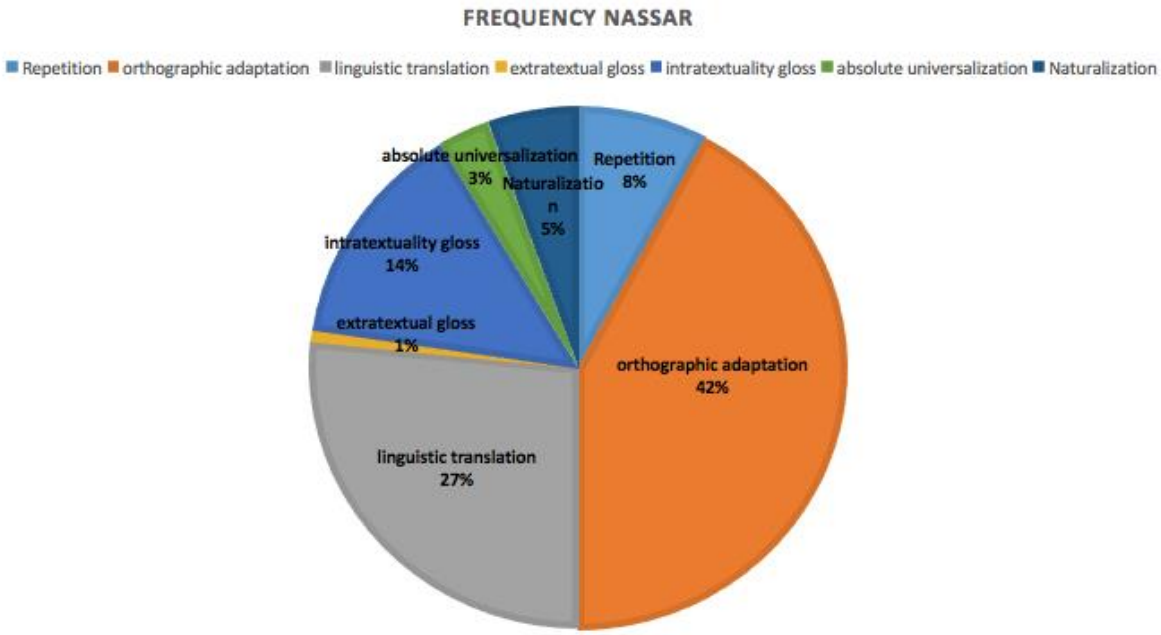

Figure 2: Frequency of translation strategies used by each of the three translators

In the following section, the strategies will be discussed and supported by examples from the data, giving one example from each translation. They will be explained according to their frequency, starting with the strategy found most frequently.

Conservation

According to the analysis, 81.2% of the strategies utilized by the three Arab translators fall into the category of SL-oriented strategies. According to Aixela's taxonomy, a number of strategies are included under this heading.

1. Orthographic adaptation

This was the strategy most frequently used by the three translators. This strategy is referred to variously by translators as transference (Newmark 1988: 81), transcription (Harvey 2000: 5), transliteration (Aixela 1997: 61) and loan words (Baker 2011: 33). Orthographic adaptation means expressing the CSI in the alphabet of the TL—in this case, Arabic letters—to convey the sound of the CSI. In the present study, 41.9% of the strategies followed by the three translators in rendering CSIs fell into this category. The results indicate that this strategy was mostly used when translating proper nouns and Spanish words rather than common expressions.

Orthographic Adaptation			
No.	Name of translator	Source language text (SLT)	Target language text (TLT)
1.	Muhsen (2000: 20) (T1)	"**Perico** gave it to me at the **bodega**", he explained. "'I'll be back when I have the **sardines**. I'll keep yours and mine together on ice and we can share them in the morning. When I come back you can tell me about the **baseball.**" "**The Yankees** cannot lose." "But I fear the **Indians of Cleveland**." (4)	وأوضح له وقال: (لقد اعطاني **بريكو** إياها ونحن في **البوديغا**) سوف أعود عندما احصل على **السردين** وسأحفظ حصتي وحصتك في الثلج ونتقاسمها عند الصباح وعندما ارجع تستطيع اخباري عن مباريات **البيسبول**) ولكن **اليانكيز** لن يهزم لكنني أخاف من هنود فريق **كليفلاند.**
2.	Nassar (2002: 19) (T2)	But after forty days without a fish, the boy's parents had told him that the old man was now definitely and finally **salao**, which is the worst form of unlucky. (1)	في الأربعين يوما الأولى وهو بلا سمك أخبره والدا الولد بأن الرجل العجوز أصبح بالتمام والكمال، وهي salo الان **سالاو** أسوأ صيغة لسيء الحظ.
3.	Zaheed (2007: 93) T3	As the sun set, he remembered, to give himself more confidence, the time in the tavern at Casablanca when he had played the hand game with the great negro from **Cienfuegos** who was the strongest man on the docks. (25)	مع غروب الشمس، وليقوي الشيخ من عزيمته، تذكر أيام الشباب، تذكر تلك الليلة التي قضاها في حانة من حانات الدار البيضاء يلعب لعبة اليد الحديدية مع خصم له من **"سينفوكوس"**، وكان أقوى رجل في المرفإ،

Table 2: Examples of orthographic adaptation strategy

When orthographic strategy is used on its own, with no other following strategy, the meaning of the CSI may not be clearly conveyed to the TT readers: sometimes the context helps the reader to work out the meaning but not always. In the first example, the translator has transliterated all the CSIs in the extract: some of them were English words that related to sports, ecology and material culture, such as baseball, Yankees, Cleveland and sardines; others were Spanish words, such as *bodega*, which refers to a warehouse or grocery store. The second example was taken from the first page of the novella. The CSI *salao* comes from the Spanish word *salado*, which means the worst kind of luck. The translator has only transliterated the CSI into Arabic and added nothing about its meaning. The use of Spanish words is a very prominent stylistic feature employed by Hemingway in this novella to show his familiarity with the people of Cuba where he lived for more than fourteen years. Some of

the characters also have Spanish names, such as Santiago and Manolin (Karavin 2016: 133). Thus, Hemingway has intentionally used Spanish words in his novella to imply the nationality of the boy, for instance, when he says *salao,* he shows his Spanish origin (Karavin 2106: 133). In the third example, the name of the city Cienfuegos was only transliterated; nothing was communicated about its meaning as a seaport in Cuba. It depended on the reader inferring the meaning from the context or having some prior knowledge of it.

2. Linguistic (non-cultural) translation

Aixela (1997:61) states that in this strategy, the translator chooses to convey the denotation of the CSI. It is the second most frequently used strategy after orthographic adaptation. The translation here makes the CSI comprehensible so that it makes sense to the TL reader; 20.7% of the strategies followed in the three translations fell into this category, particularly in the translation of common expressions. Table 3 provides examples of the strategy.

Linguistic (non-cultural) translation			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
1.	Muhsen (T1) (2000: 43)	He always thought of the sea as **la mar** which is what people call her in Spanish when they love her. (10)	La mar كان الشيخ يسمي البحر **"البحرة"** وهذا ما يسميه الناس في اللغة الاسبانية عندما يعشقونه.
2.	Nassar (T2) (2002: 26)	I fear both the **Tigers of Detroit** and the **Indians of Cleveland**. Have faith in the **Yankees** my son. Be careful or you will fear even the **Reds of Cincinnati** and the **White Sox of Chicago.**	-"أخاف من كل من **نمور ديترويت وهنود كليفلاند**." -"احذر والا ستخاف حتى من **حمر سينسياتي والجوارب البيضاء لتشيكاغو**".
3.	Zaheed T3 (2007: 34)	He was an old man who fished alone in a skiff in the **Gulf Stream**...	كان هناك رجل عجوز يصيد السمك وحيدا في مركبه **بخليج ستريم...**

Table 3: Examples of linguistic translation strategy

In these examples, the translators have used the strategy of linguistic translation either alone or in addition to orthographic adaptation. In fact, these two strategies, employed 62.6% of the time, were the primary strategies used in all three Arabic translations. In the first example, Hemingway has used the Spanish word *mar*, which refers to the sea, and used *la* as the feminine definite article. The translator has translated the meaning of the word into Arabic. However, the translation sounds awkward in Arabic since "the sea" is always masculine and cannot be used with the feminine article. The second example indicates a number of CSIs related to baseball teams. The translator has translated their meanings into Arabic, which results in odd-sounding names for the teams. In the third example, the CSI "Gulf Stream" is a proper noun, rendered as خليج ستريم , where the translator translated the meaning of the first word and transliterated the second. This translation does not convey the

meaning of the CSI, which refers to a warm and swift Atlantic Ocean current. "Gulf Stream" is defined in the Collins English dictionary as "a relatively warm ocean current flowing north-eastward off the Atlantic coast of the US from the Gulf of Mexico". A possible and more acceptable translation would be مجرى الخليج.

3. Repetition

In the repetition strategy, the translator does not change the CSI but transfers it as it is to the TL. Aixela (1996: 61) points out that this strategy increases "the exotic or archaic character of the CSI". The CSI still remains alien and foreign to the TL reader. Nothing is translated, and the CSI is transferred as it is with no further clarification. When languages are as remote from each other as English and Arabic, this strategy is rarely used by translators. Translation scholars refer to this strategy as retention (Pedersen 2005), preservation (Davies 2003), loan words (Baker 2011) and transference (Newmark 1988). Baker states that sometimes loan words are followed immediately by an explanation and then subsequently, used with no explanation in the translated text.

In the current study, 9.3% of examples (n = 35) fell into this category, where the translator repeated the CSI and transferred it using English letters. Zaheed (2007) used this strategy more than the other translators. Most of the examples found under this category were extracted from his translation.

Repetition			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
1.	Muhsen (T1) (2000: 52)	"**Agua mala**", the man said (12)	قال الشيخ: اغوامالا **Agua mala**
2.	Nassar (T2) (2002: 25)	The shack was made of the tough budshields of the royal palm which are called **guano.** (4)	كان الكوخ مصنوعا من سعف نخل ملكي خشن يدعى جوانو/ **guano**.
3.	Zaheed (T3) (2007: 128)	"**Galanos**", he said aloud. (40)	ثم صاح الشيخ: "غالانوس" **"Galanos."**

Table 4: Examples of the repetition strategy

Hemingway uses Spanish words to imply that the characters are of a Spanish-speaking nationality, and also to show his familiarity with the Spanish language and the people of Spanish origin living in Cuba. Lefevere (1992: 29) refers to the use of foreign words in a text to be translated as "double translation". In the current data, the repetition strategy was mainly used in the translation of these Spanish words and proper nouns. Whenever the translators used this strategy, they usually followed it with the strategy of orthographic adaptation. The repetition strategy does not convey any meaning to Arab readers, since they are unfamiliar with the Spanish language. The translators transferred some Spanish CSIs as they were, without any further explanation or reference, including words such as *guano*, *agua mala*, and *Galanos*. The exotic features of the novella, created by the use of Spanish words, were

preserved through the use of this strategy. Transferring the CSIs as they are in the SLT represents an extreme form of alienation.

4. Intratextual gloss

Intratextual gloss can be considered "a strategy of explicitness" of something partly revealed in the SL text (Aixela 1996: 62). Newmark (1988) refers to it as a "classifier". Of the strategies utilized, 8.8% fell into this category.

Intratextual gloss			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
1.	Muhsen (T1)(2000: 114)	The odds would change back and forth all night and they fed the negro **rum** and lighted cigarettes for him. (26)	والفريق يتغير مرة في صالح الزنجي وأخرى في صالح الشيخ وقد قدموا للزنجي شيئا من **شراب "الرم"** واشعلوا له السجائر.
2.	Nassar (T2) (2002: 114)	You can make the blade from a spring leaf from an **old Ford**. We can grind it in **Guanabacoa**. (47)	يمكنك صنع النصل من طرف نابض من **سيارة فورد قديمة**. يمكننا شحذها في **بلدة جوانباكوا**.
3.	Zaheed (T3) (2007: 76)	I don't know what that fish was that took the bait just now. It could have been a **marlin or a broadbill or a shark**. (18)	لا أدري ما نوع هذه السمكة التي قضمت الطعم الآن. أهي **سمكة المرلين** أم **عريض المنقار، أم القرش؟**

Table 5: Examples of intratextual gloss strategy

In the intratextual gloss strategy, the translators use qualifiers to make the CSIs clearer to the TT readers. For instance, according to Newmark's typology (1988), the CSI "rum" is an example of material culture, referring to an alcoholic beverage. The three translators transcribed the word into Arabic and used a qualifier to identify its meaning: one of the translators used the word "a drink of" and another used "a glass of". In the second example, the translator used the qualifier سيارة ("car") and the word بلدة ("city") to clarify the CSIs 'Ford' and 'Guanabacoa". Similarly, the translator in the third example used the qualifier سمكة, which means "fish", to clarify the meaning of the CSI "marlin". This strategy made makes the meaning of these CSIs clearer to the readers.

5. Extratextual gloss

This strategy refers to the use of footnotes, endnotes, glossaries or commentaries outside the text. This strategy was rarely used by the three translators. Only two examples were detected in the data—one by Zaheeed and the other by Nassar—where the translators had written further explanation in the footnotes, as shown in Table 6 below.

Extratextual gloss			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
2.	Nassar (T2) (2002: 96)	Just before it was dark, as they passed a great island of **Sargasso weed**. (27)	قبيل الظلام، وبينما كان قارب الشيخ يمر بجزيرة من **أعشاب السرجس**. 1-**طحالب بحرية**
3.	Zaheed (T3) (2007: 122)	There were high **cumulus clouds** and enough cirrus above them so that the old man knew the breeze would last all night. (37)	وكانت هناك **طخارير وقزع** في السماء، فعلم الشيخ أن الريح ستهب طوال الليل. - **قطع من السحاب رقيقة مستدقة**.[1] - **قطع من السحاب متفرقة**.[1]

Table 6: Examples of extratextual gloss strategy

Substitution

Substitution strategies are TL oriented. Of the strategies detected in the data, 18.8% fell within this major category. This means that fewer than one quarter of all strategies were identified as being in this category. Substitution includes the following strategies.

6. Absolute universalization

In this strategy, the translator chooses a neutral reference, not related to the SL culture, and thus with no foreign connotations (Aixela 1993: 63). Baker (2011: 23) refers to this strategy as translation by a more general or neutral word. This procedure is considered to involve deculturalization of the CSI or a neutralization process (Persson 2015: 9). This was the strategy most frequently found in this category and it constituted 8.8% of all strategies used in the data.

Absolute universalization			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
1.	Muhsen (T1) (8) (2000: 172)	"Can I offer you a **beer** on the terrace and then we'll take the stuff home?" (2)	(هل اجلب لك **شرابا** ثم نحمل حاجياتنا الى البيت)
2.	Nassar (T2) (2002: 39)	Just then he saw **a man-of-war bird** with his long black wings circling in the sky ahead of him. (11)	في تلك اللحظة تماما، رأى **طائر بارجة** جارحا بجناحيه الطويلين السوداوين يحوم في السماء امامه.

3.	Zaheed (T3) (2007: 47)	"I know. But this is in bottles, **Hatuey beer**, and I take back the bottles." (6)	أعرف ذلك، ولكنها **جعة** في قارورتين، وسأعيدهما إليه عند شربهما".

Table 7: Examples of absolute universalization strategy

In this strategy, the translator renders the CSI into a word that is more general, or uses superordinate words to create a hyponym that does not exist in the SL. In the first example, translated by Muhsen (2000), the translator avoids transliterating the word "beer" and refers to it more generally by using the word شراب, which means "a drink" in Arabic. Similarly, in the second example, the CSI identifies particular kind of bird. The translator renders it into a general lexical item in Arabic, طائر بارجة. In the third example, the translator renders the proper noun "Hatuey beer" into الجعة, which means simply "beer", instead of mentioning a CSI that is very close to the SL culture. The translations are neutral and general and do not have any cultural connotation.

7. Naturalization

When using this strategy, the translator replaces the CSI with another item from the TL culture (Aixela 1996: 63). Baker refers to this strategy as "translation as cultural substitution" (2011:29). Naturalization gives the reader a concept that is familiar in their TL culture and loses the exotic features of the CSI. Newmark (1988: 82) refers to this strategy as "cultural equivalent". In the current data, only 5.6% of the strategies fell into this category.

Naturalization			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
1.	Muhsen (T1) (26)	I know. But this is in bottles, **Hatuey beer**, and I take back the bottles. (6)	"انا اعرف لكن هذا العصير في قنان زجاجية، **عصير هومي**، وعلي ان اعيد القناني.
2.	Nassar (T2) (61) (49)	I wish I could feed the fish, he thought. He is **my brother**. (22)	فكر: ليتني أطعم السمكة. **انها اختي.**
3.	Zaheed (T3) (68) (123)	"He can't have gone", he said. "**Christ** knows he can't have gone. He's making a turn." (15) Dentuso, he thought. Bad luck to your mother. (38)	ثم قال: "لا يمكن أن تكون السمكة ذهبت، **الله** وحده يعلم مكانها، ربما تكون في جولة لتعود بعدها ثم دعا عليه قائلا: **"ثكلتك أمك أيها القرش اللعين".**

Table 8: Examples of the naturalization strategy

In the first example, Muhsen (2000) replaces the CSI "Hatuey beer" with the word عصير هومي, which means "juice". The translator has avoided mentioning the CSI, since it refers to an alcoholic drink, which is forbidden for Muslims. In the second example, Nassar (2002) replaces the word "brother" with the word "sister", because fish is feminine in Arabic and cannot be used as masculine according to Arabic grammar. In the third example, the translator replaces the curse "bad luck to your mother" with the expression "**"ثكلتك أمك** , which means "may your mom lose you", a very common expression in Arabic. Similarly, the translator replaces the word "Christ" with the word الله (meaning God) to avoid using a word that is sensitive in Muslim cultures.

8. Deletion

When using a deletion strategy, the translator replaces the CSI with nothing. Baker (2011) refers to it as omission, noting that if the CSI is not important, there is no harm in deleting it. Dickens (2012: 56) states that omission can be considered as a domesticating procedure, since the translator is avoiding mentioning the CSI. In the current study, 4.5% of the data fell into this category.

Deletion			
No.	Name of translator	SLT	TLT
1.	Muhsen (T1)	**"Hail Mary full of Grace the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death. Amen." Then he added, "Blessed Virgin, pray for the death of this fish."** (24)	_____ ----------
2.	Zaheed (T3)	What is a bone spur? He asked himself. **Un espuela de hueso.** (25)	----------

Table 9: Examples of deletion strategy

This strategy was rarely used by the translators in the current study. No such example was detected in Nassar's translation. In the first example in the above table, the translator deletes the Christian prayers completely from his translation. In the second example, extracted from Zaheed, a CSI is used that is a Spanish expression. The translator deletes the expression and makes no reference to it in the translation.

Finally, the strategies adopted by the three translators were grouped into Table 10 and clarified in Figure 3, below.

Strategies	Type of procedure	Zaheed	Mohsen	Nassar	Total	Percentage
Conservation	Repetition	22	3	10	35	9.3%
	Orthographic adaptation	48	56	54	158	41.9%
	Linguistic translation	22	22	34	78	20.7%
	Extratextual gloss	1	0	1	2	0.5%
	Intratextual gloss	10	5	18	33	8.8%
	Total	103	86	117	306	81.2%
Substitution	Synonyms	0	0	0	0	0
	Limited universalization	0	0	0	0	0
	Absolute universalization	15	14	4	33	8.8%
	Naturalization	9	5	7	21	5.6%
	Deletion	6	11	0	17	4.5%
	Autonomous creation	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	30	30	11	71	18.8%
Total	377					100%

Table 10: Percentage of translation strategies used by the three Arab translators

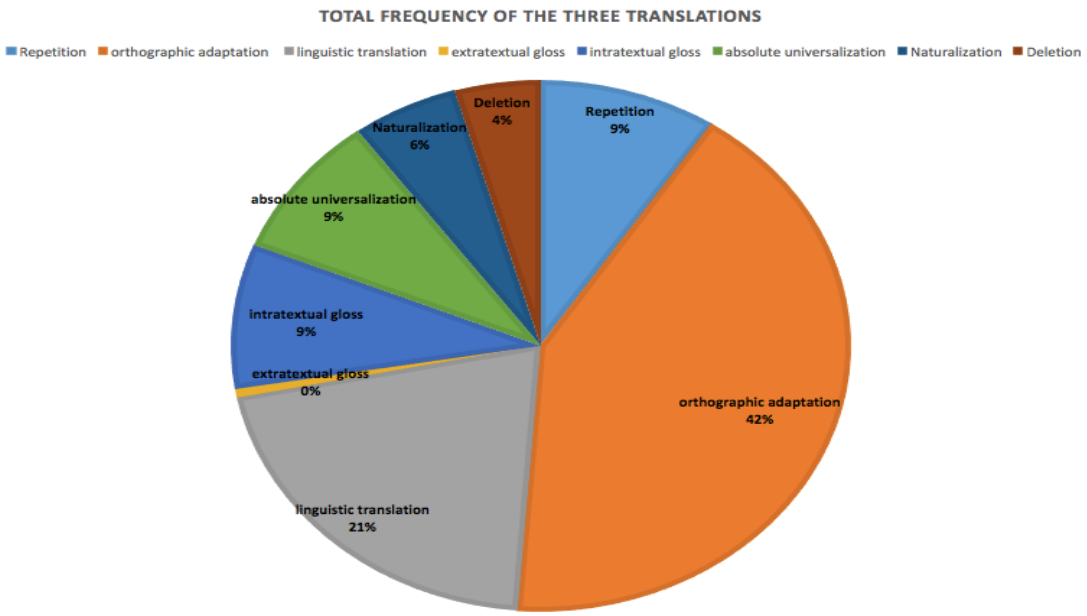

Figure 3: Percentage of strategies used by the three translators combined

Conclusion

The study examined the translation of CSIs in Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*. The most frequently used strategies in the three translations examined were SL-oriented strategies—that is, according to Aixela's theoretical framework, conservation strategies. Under this category, orthographic adaptation and linguistic translation were the primary strategies used in the three Arabic translations. The translators have used the strategy of linguistic translation either alone or in addition to orthographic adaptation. The third strategy which was mainly utilized in the translation of Spanish words and proper nouns in the novella is repetition. The exotic features of the novella were preserved through the use of this strategy. The data has also shown that fewer than one quarter of all strategies were identified under TL-oriented strategies. Absolute universalization was the strategy most frequently found in this category and constituted 8.8% of all strategies used in the data followed by naturalization and deletion. The three translators rarely replaced a CSI with another item from the TL culture or a neutral word or resorted to deletion. Some strategies, such as synonymy, limited universalization and autonomous recreation, were not detected in the analysis and were thus excluded from the discussion. In addition, upon examination of the type of CSI and the translation strategies used, the researcher found that preservation strategies were the most frequently used, regardless of the type of CSI. This indicates a consistency among the three translators in using the conservation strategies. The results imply that the Arabic translations accept and tolerate the differences between the two cultures: the SL culture is preserved and reproduced in the Arabic translations.

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Samia Aljabri,

Assistant Professor at the Department of English, College of Social Sciences,

Umm Al-Qura University,

Makkah, Saudi Arabia, smjabri@uqu.edu.sa

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Analysing the healthcare interpreter's role in the "in-between": An exploratory study of patient-interpreter spoken interactions in a hospital setting

Cristina Álvaro Aranda

Abstract:
Research has greatly focused on the healthcare interpreters' role in the course of medical consultations, leaving other roles they play in different activities that are also part of their work context somewhat unattended. Drawing on the notion of "in-between spaces" (Shaffer, 2020), this paper explores the roles played by interpreters in moments when they are not interpreting and must choose whether to remain (in)visible. Participant observation, fieldnotes and interviews allow establishing different areas of in-between—waiting times, accompaniment stages, interrupted consultations, and consultations occurring in two physical spaces—where participants deploy different degrees of visibility translating into interpreter-patient rapport-building that may have a positive impact on subsequent interpreted medical consultations.
Keywords: healthcare interpreting, role, in-between, (in)visibility.

1. Introduction

Increasing migration movements have transformed the landscape of healthcare provision into multilingual and multicultural spaces where healthcare interpreters are increasingly required to enable communication in language-discordant encounters. The role that interpreters must play in this process has been a major focus of interest for researchers over the years (Liu & Zhang 2019). Different voices give way to different conceptualisations, from more static visions of interpreters as neutral, non-involved linguistic machines to active participants deploying agency and exercising power, with more recent calls highlighting role fluidity to meet social and interactional needs or institutional constraints (Angelelli 2004, 2019; Major & Napier 2019).

The underlying issue of interpreters' (in)visibility is often at the core of this debate. Despite solid evidence supporting interpreters' visible participation in different ways—as moral mediators (Seale *et al.* 2013), patient empowerers (Hsieh, 2013), co-interviewers (Suurmond *et al.* 2016), advocates (Zendelel *et al.* 2018), etc.—they often "espouse invisibility" (Marin, 2020). Guiding documents sustain the idea of interpreters as conduits rendering messages in the most uninvolved way possible (Li *et al.* 2017). Furthermore, the discourse embodied in codes of ethics, and thus prevailing in training and professional circles, is firmly rooted on the idea of healthcare interpreters as neutral non-people (Martínez-Gómez 2015). In this direction, objectivity, neutrality and distance are common words to depict the role of *professional* interpreters, which further supports their image as communication tools or conduits, in detriment of alternative discourses highlighting their visibility (Shaffer 2020).

The construct of role in healthcare interpreting has been largely studied in the course of medical consultations in varied settings, such as audiology (Penn *et al.* 2010) or oncology (Butow *et al.* 2011). However, job specifications and employment contexts may require healthcare interpreters to perform tasks beyond facilitating communication in medical interviews, which may include accompanying (Bischoff *et al.* 2012) or guiding patients

(Angelelli 2019). Thus, healthcare interpreters are left alone with just one of the participants of triadic exchanges. These moments reveal additional areas of special complexity for the interpreters' role that have been recently defined as "in-between spaces" (Shaffer 2020), understood as times and sites when healthcare interpreters are not actively interpreting, but are presented with the choice whether to remain invisible or not.

In-between areas, however, have not been fully analysed. Drawing on Shaffer (2020), this paper aims to study the roles performed by a sample of five healthcare interpreters in moments of in-between that occurred at a public hospital in Madrid, Spain. Data presented in this paper is part of a larger study and was collected by a series of qualitative techniques, i.e. participant observation, fieldnotes and interviews. By analysing visibility manifestations in the in-between, I set out to explore the functions and implications these entail for healthcare interpreting as a professional activity.

2. The notion of role in healthcare interpreting

A role is conceived as a coherent cluster of behaviours shared between a group of individuals fulfilling the same position in society and as a pattern of behaviour expected by other societal segments (Havighurst & Neugarten 1962). Roles, as Herrmann *et al.* (2004) note, have four characteristics: 1) position in a social group, which entails a series of 2) functions and tasks, usually made explicit in the form of documented rights, expectations and obligations (e.g. job descriptions). Additionally, roles include 3) non-explicit behaviour expectations, covering informal notions and agreements, and 4) social interaction, which is a direct result of a "negotiation between role actor[s] and those with whom [they] interact" in the social system. In summary, roles are externally imposed onto the individual by societal norms, shaped in interaction with others and influenced by the structural system in which they take place (Benamar *et al.* 2017).

Social impositions or expectations, interactional influences and structural constraints are useful elements to understand the complexity embedded in the role(s) of healthcare interpreters. Firstly, the set of problems that interpreters need to solve has not yet been specified; it could be said that the main problem is unsuccessful communication between two individuals that speak different languages, but there is no consensus regarding how healthcare should approach this problem and the role(s) they must assume in the process (Lázaro Gutiérrez 2014). This interprofessional lack of definition is reflected in tensions between what normative conduit-based models prescribe healthcare interpreters to do in professional codes of ethics and their actual behaviour in interactional practice (Martínez Gómez 2015; Major & Napier 2019). Additionally, there is a lack of familiarity among patients and other collectives with the interpreters' role. They may have expectations about interpreters' responsibilities and tasks that may not correlate with what they can or cannot do in practice (Angelelli 2019). This is particularly relevant when interpreters are employed by an organisation, as they may be required to perform duties other than facilitating communication, such as scheduling appointments (Souza 2020). The coexistence (and sometimes collision) of all these factors tug interpreters in different directions, who are left conflicted about how to balance these forces in the search of their role.

Thus, it is not surprising that the notions of institutional, interpersonal and social restrictions (Angelelli 2004), issues of power (Mason & Ren 2012) and interactional objectives (Zorzi 2012) have heavily influenced research on role. Under this prism,

healthcare interpreters play different roles depending on the context, its needs and restrictions, adopting several identities in the same communicative event that are negotiated and (co)-constructed in interaction (Zorzi 2012; Martínez Gómez 2015; Angelelli 2019). Research thus reveals interpreters moving along a scale of invisibility and visibility, acting as linguistic converters in their default role and surpassing it to clarify cultural differences (Rosenbaum *et al.* 2020), keep the medical interview on track (Davidson 2000), initiate information seeking (Suurmond *et al.* 2016), empower patients (Hsieh 2013) or provide emotional support (Lara-Otero *et al.* 2019). And, despite the evidence, stepping away from the conduit role entails going against industry expectations and standard practices (Shaffer 2020). To address this tension, interpreters find an invisible space where to become visible in the in-between (*ibid.* 191).

3. Defining in-between spaces

Following Shaffer (2020), I will use the expression in-between spaces to allude to sites and times when healthcare interpreters are not involved in interpreting and must face the choice to remain (in)visible. For this author, moments of in-between occur before healthcare providers arrive or when they step away, and may take place in three different physical places, i.e. the examination room, the waiting room and the in-patient hospital room. When unaccompanied by a member of staff, healthcare interpreters of the study are expected to follow the "leave the room practice", that is, leave the presence of the patient, as dictated by the hospital policy or the interpreting agency. However, in-between spaces present a major source of tension where healthcare interpreters must choose whether to stay or leave; whether to become visible or not. They must juggle imposed expectations and additional elements, such as the patient's vulnerability and derived feelings of compassion. In these complex moments, the notion of healthcare interpreters as conduits clashes with that of community partners.

4. Methodology

Based on a dataset collected at a public hospital in Madrid (Spain) over a period of five months in 2017, this exploratory study sets out to analyse how a sample of five participants conduct themselves in in-between spaces. Data presented in this paper is part of a wider dataset that the author collected for developing her doctoral dissertation (Álvaro Aranda 2020)[1]. For the purposes of this paper, we will focus on a subset of spoken interactions that occurred between patients and healthcare interpreters. Collection of data was performed using participant observation. No audio or video recording could be obtained due to several factors (i.e. background noise, sensitive nature of the setting, other patients' privacy when they were sitting in the same room). These elements impeded full registration of conversations and their

1 This research presents an ethnographic case study exploring differences in the performance of healthcare interpreters depending on their levels of specialised training and professional experience. After presenting the study to staff at positions of responsibility at the interpreters' organisation and signing a confidentiality form, permission was granted to perform participant observation twice a week. All participants—patients, interpreters, providers—granted oral consent prior data collection in individual sessions.

subsequent transcription, but illustrative excerpts were documented through fieldnotes. Additionally, interpreters were interviewed at different moments to gain some insight into their perceptions. Interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis.

5. Participants

5.1. Interpreters

Five interpreters took part in the study. To preserve their identity, fictitious names were assigned to participants (see Table 1). One of the interpreters held a degree in Translation and Interpreting and also received on-the-job training in interpreting and intercultural mediation in healthcare settings for a month. This interpreter had worked at the hospital where data collection took place for four years. Remaining participants were students enrolled in the MA in Intercultural Communication, Interpreting and Translation in Public Services[2] offered at the University of Alcalá (Spain) who were doing their internships for approximately a month. As part of the programme, students are required to complete a specific module in healthcare translation and interpreting. Among other contents, students are introduced to different techniques (consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, sight translation, note taking, etc.), codes of ethics and specialised terminology. The interns had no previous formal professional experience in healthcare interpreting. Concerning their undergraduate background, they pursued studies in Modern Languages, Interpreting and/or Translation. The job description for participating interns specified that students were expected to interpret in medical consultations and, occasionally, healthcare promotion workshops, as well as carrying out punctual translations of informative materials (e.g. brochures).

	Status	Age	Gender	Professional experience	Nationality	Mother tongue	Working languages
Lucía	Staff interpreter	28	F	4 years	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish<>French, English, Arabic
Sandra	Intern	23	F	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish<>French
María	Intern	22	F	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish<>French
Viviana	Intern	23	F	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish<>French
Javier	Intern	22	M	N/A	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish<>French

Table 1 *Main characteristics of interpreters*

5.2. Patients

Except for very few isolated cases, interpreters interacted with male patients. Most of them fell within an age range of fifteen to thirty years old and came from Sub-Saharan African countries, such as Cameroon, Nigeria or Guinea. The patients' mother tongues were very varied, ranging from Wolof to Bambara, Susu, Koniake, Pulaar or Malenke. French was used as a lingua franca in all interactions with healthcare interpreters presented in this paper.

2 http://www3.uah.es/master-tisp-uah/presentacion/

6. Context of the study: a normal day at the hospital

The hospital is divided into separate buildings which further split into different departments and wards. Interpreters have their own physical office in one of the buildings, strategically located in an area that receives a large number of non-Spanish speaking patients on a daily basis. When one of these patients arrives, either alone or accompanied by an NGO volunteer, they hand in an appointment slip to the secretary at the reception and wait in a sitting area in the corridor. If the patient has an appointment in the area next to the interpreters' office, one of the doctors approaches this space to ask for assistance. However, some of the patients' appointments require visiting another building. Sometimes they need to hand in urine/stool samples, have a blood test, x-ray or ultrasound exam, or receive medical attention in a specific ward elsewhere. On these occasions, the secretary heads to the office and informs the interpreters about the case. One of the interpreters—sometimes two, if the staff interpreter opts to assess interns' performance or requests them to watch hers—subsequently leaves the office and meets the patient in the waiting area. After greeting each other, the interpreter accompanies the patient to their appointment, hands in slips if necessary, waits with them and usually walks them to the exit. Interpreters are required to fill in a form describing the main features of each particular case (name of the patient, age, country of origin, etc.), which also contains a section where the patient is asked to rate the service provided.

7. Finding the in-between

Participant observation in this study reveals different moments leading to the in-between that serve to complement Shaffer (2020). These occur 1) when providers leave the room in the middle of the consultation whilst the interpreter and the patient wait for their return. On the other hand, when appointments take place in the medical area next to the interpreters' office, medical providers develop the interview, physical examination and prescription of treatment in a consultation room, but they must go to the secretary's office to collect materials or print out documents. Some other times a consultation room does not have an examination table and a shift of space is required to perform a physical examination. On these occasions, there exists 2) an intermediate pause where patients are asked to either accompany the provider to this space, sit in the waiting area or stay in the corridor, which presents interpreters with the choice of distancing themselves or staying with the patient. Additionally, interpreters may choose to become visible when they 3) accompany patients to different areas of the hospital, implying moving down corridors, taking the lift or the stairs and even stepping out into the street if an appointment is scheduled in a different building of the hospital. Finally, 4) waiting times can also create an area of in-between. These moments occur in waiting rooms or when interpreter and patient need to queue, for example, to hand in samples.

8. Analysis

This section examines illustrative excerpts obtained by means of fieldnotes and interviews. Interactions occurred in Spanish and/or French, but for reasons of space and clarity they have been translated into English in this paper. I include references to the original language

between parentheses, whereas brackets are reserved to indicate actions, body language, pauses or silences. Finally, the label (Interpretation to 'language') represents rendering of messages by an interpreter of the sample.

8.1. When the interpreter accompanies the patient

One of the most recurrent moments in-between takes place when interpreters step out of the office to meet patients in the waiting room to subsequently accompany them. After initial greetings and introductions that precede moving to another building, participants usually participate in small talk (e.g. weather talk) and/or provide information regarding the reason for the patient's hospital visit or the location of a specific area in the institution. This is best illustrated through examples:

(1) (French) 1 María: You are gonna get the Mantoux test today. Do you know what that is?

[The patient shakes his head]

2 María: No? Well, it's a test to see if you have been around people with TB. You cannot scratch the area in 72 hours or you will get a positive test result. It'll leave you with a little scar, but don't worry about it, it will disappear with time.

In case 1, the secretary informs the interpreters that a patient is waiting at the sitting area for someone to accompany him to get a Mantoux test. María steps out of the office to meet him and introduces herself before indicating him to follow her. Far from staying silent before they reach the nursing area, María becomes visible by asking the patient if he is familiar with the test, to subsequently describe it and provide some general instructions.

Thus, María considers this moment as an opportunity to educate the patient and alleviate potential concerns due to a lack of specialised knowledge. This kind of behaviour is particularly recurrent in all interpreters. None of them appear troubled to use these moments alone with patients to temporarily adopt the healthcare provider's role and offer information belonging to the medical field. It should be noted, however, that in some other examples patients ask participants specific questions regarding medical concepts in the in-between, which interpreters refuse to answer by establishing professional limits and reminding patients that "they are not doctors."

Additionally, interpreters may step into the field of visibility to pursue a different goal during accompaniments. On these occasions, they resort to jokes and humour or light, informal conversation in an attempt to connect with the patient and earn their trust.

(2) (French) 1 María: Was Cristina nice to you? I'm going to tell our bosses otherwise!

[The patient remains silent for a few moments and then laughs]

2 Patient: No, no, she was kind to us.

3 María: Good.

Case 2 is a prime example to illustrate how healthcare interpreters of this study become visible to patients to make them feel at ease before they receive medical attention. In this scenario, the patient is a sixteen year old Ivorian male that has attended the hospital on a

previous date. The author of this paper accompanied him to get a blood test done, which is known by María. The patient stays silent until the interpreter initiates small talk and resorts to a humorous tone which is successfully reciprocated by the patient. María presents herself as a professional by alluding to an existing hierarchy at the institution ('I'm going to tell our bosses'), but also tries to build rapport, almost as a partner. In other cases, patients are the participants who seek constructing a connection with interpreters. These initiatives are habitual when patients have worked with interpreters before and recognise them. Previous experiences seem to originate a shared ground leading to a somewhat cordial relationship. Some patients, for example, inquire about the interpreters' well-being or ask interns about the end date of their time at the hospital.

Participant observation in this study reveals that accompanying patients is a frequent and productive moment of in-between that interpreters may use to educate patients or connect with them. In the first case, it seems that they align themselves with the institution and somehow present themselves as part of the staff, as they provide medical information concerning different elements. In the eyes of some interpreters, connecting with patients in these spaces necessarily implies moving beyond being an *interpreter*, incorporating additional social roles and responsibilities that they attribute to other professional figures.

> (Spanish): Javier: I think that interpreting is a part of mediation. Basically. That is what I learned here. Because after when I, when you accompany patients, you are not interpreting there, but you are… That little walk from one building to another (…) When they talk that they complain [He corrects himself] that we always complain about the weather, or stuff like that. That is not interpreting anymore, that is… Chit-chat, talking.

Javier describes accompanying patients as a stage when he sheds himself of his default conduit role. He steps outside an imposed identity and enters a territory of visibility clashing with traditional views of interpreters as depicted in codes of ethics or good practice guidelines. As chit-chat transcends what Javier considers to be the interpreter's role, he mentions the figure of the intercultural mediator, implying that he assumes other roles that he attributes to professionals who, in his opinion, are allowed more visibility in their work. However, informal chat with patients sometimes comes with a risk. Viviana describes the following situation:

> (Spanish) Viviana: (…) And when we were going to leave he told me… On Saturday… Were you waiting on someone? Were you going to pick someone up? I said yes, I was going to see my friends. And then he said, you looked wonderful on Saturday. When I saw you, you looked wonderful. And I said wonderful, what? I did not know what to say, I did not understand, I did not know if I had understood correctly. And he said yes, you looked wonderful. (…) Then he said what time do you finish work and when do you start? (…) And I said, well, I say thanks, see you next time (…) And then I realised that he really wanted to know if I was going to meet someone, someone *else*. My schedule, it was for… And then I realised that, yeah… (…) And no, you have to stop that.

Viviana describes a personal experience involving a patient with whom she has previously interacted on several occasions. After accompanying him to the area where he had a Traumatology consultation and later on scheduling a subsequent appointment, Viviana

walks the patient to the exit. Instead of saying goodbye to close the interaction, the patient brings up a fortuitous encounter that occurred a few days earlier outside the medical facility and inquires the interpreter about it. This time, however, the patient does not seek to build rapport with Viviana by means of informal talk, but rather makes flirtatious comments that bring discomfort to the interpreter. Once she becomes aware of the patient's intentions, she adopts an uninvolved position and prompts the end of the interaction. Thus, by presenting themselves as visible in moments in-between, interpreters may face situations when patients expect them to exceed professional boundaries. These cases could be labelled as situations that interpreters participating in Shaffer (2020: 197) define as a 'can of worms', when patients consider interpreters to be more companions than professionals.

8.2. When the interpreter waits with the patient

When interpreter and patient arrive to a specific area of the hospital, they often wait for some time before entering the consultation room. These moments of in-between may unfold quite differently. If patients behave in a way that has made the interpreter feel uncomfortable during the accompaniment stage, participants in the sample willingly sit somewhere else. On the other hand, and as noted by Shaffer (2020: 196), the interpreter also follows the patient's level of interest and acts accordingly. Interpreters sometimes sit next to the patient in the waiting room and discuss trivial matters, which allows passing time and strengthening a potential connection between both individuals. This is a situation that usually occurs when patient and interpreter know each other. For example, one of the patients shares with Sandra some details about his life in his country of origin whilst they wait for the patient's name to be called. What is particularly interesting about these situations is that they may have an influence in the subsequent consultation.

(3) (Smiling tone)

(Spanish)	1	Doctor: Have you had protected sexual relations with all those hundreds of girls?
	2	(Interpretation to French)
[The patient laughs]		
(French)	3	Patient: Yes, except the mother of my son.
	4	(Interpretation to Spanish)
(Spanish)	5	Doctor: How old is your son?
	6	(Interpretation to French)
(French)	7	Patient: A year and eight months. These questions are really hard.
[The patient has tears in his eyes]		
	8	(Interpretation to Spanish)
(Spanish)	9	Doctor: Why?
	10	(Interpretation to French)
(French)	11	Patient: They make me remember things I do not like.
[The patient turns to the interpreter]		
(French)	12	Patient: When you asked me if I was really young when I left my country is because of all of that. It is difficult to have a child in my country, be Muslim and not be married. One day the mother of my child gets married and leaves the child with my

parents. I do not like to talk about that.

13 (Interpretation to Spanish)

(Spanish) Sandra: He is telling me, because we have been talking before.

14 Doctor: I can imagine that it is hard, [name of patient]. We are going to think that this is for your son's health. We are going to take care of your health.

15 (Interpretation to French)

In this STD consultation the patient is asked about previous sexual partners and contraceptive use to determine the risk of sexually transmitted infections. He is uncomfortable and tries to avoid answering, sometimes laughing nervously. The doctor succeeds to obtain some information by resorting to a humorous tone, but the interview takes a different direction once the patient expresses how he feels. When prompted to elaborate by the doctor, he turns to Sandra and brings up the conversation they held in the waiting room. The previous connection they formed in the in-between translates into a certain degree of willingness to share delicate information with the interpreter that is later on rendered to the doctor.

Returning to the in-between, and as observed in accompanying stages, interpreters often appear as conversation partners in waiting times. However, they are aware that visibility demonstrations in this area of in-between contradict their prescribed role and even their training:

> (Spanish) Viviana: Well, the deontological code tells you that outside of the consultation room it is over. Well, listen, well, it is not like that, it is not real. Many times… And accompanying them and maybe talking to them… The deontological code… Many lecturers tell you: 'No, when you are in the corridor you do not need to talk to him, you move away from him, so as not to create a bond.' But that is really complicated. And I ask myself: 'Why?' Well, I am not going to create a bond with the patient because… But why not talk to him? Why not make those people who have a hard time smile? And at least make them smile, I think that is really important. So the deontological code yes, it is applied, maybe more in the consultations than outside, but there are things that, that cannot be like that one hundred percent.

It is revealed in this interview that Viviana finds it justifiable to interact with patients, even if this implies flouting her code of ethics occasionally. This testimony is in line with voices that reveal disparity between prescribed and actual behaviour of interpreters in practice. Emotions seem to come to the fore in this decision, as Viviana seeks to 'make those people who have a hard time smile.' Following Shaffer (2020: 202), the in-between is a place that can be filled by compassion, pushing aside what is expected as standard behaviour for a professional interpreter. That being said, Viviana highlights that she never intends to create a bond outside of the consultation but, rather, tries to ensure that patients' have a positive experience in the hospital. She finds a space where to pursue this goal in the in-between, which she considers a sociological place that follows a different set of rules to those governing consultations.

Waiting times can also be home to opposite scenarios. Patients may take a seat away from interpreters or busy themselves with their phones, remaining disinterested or

unresponsive in interacting with interpreters. In these cases, participants are seen respecting the patient's space. There are, however, certain occasions when interpreters breach this principle and approach patients to inquire about the nature of the appointment:

> (Spanish) Lucía: It is useful if you have the chance to do it to anticipate potential difficulties or look up some vocabulary. The patient had an ultrasound and a semen analysis done and he comes to know the results.

As described by Lucía, waiting times may be good opportunities for interpreters to obtain information that can facilitate the subsequent encounter, which is particularly interesting if they have not been briefed before.

8.3. When doctors leave the consultation room

The in-between can also occur when doctors leave the consultation room before the medical interview comes to an end. This situation is caused by different reasons. Amongst others, doctors may need to collect materials somewhere else or may wish to discuss certain topics with other colleagues. In any case, patient and interpreter are left to each other's company. Participant observation reveals both visible and invisible behaviours. Interpreters sometimes avoid eye-contact and focus on their notebooks or mobile phones. For their part, patients may also choose to remain silent. The opposite scenario is observed in other cases:

(4) [Three doctors leave the consultation room. The interpreters stay with the patient]

(French)
1 Sandra: Are you okay?
2 Patient: I have questions…
3 Sandra: But ask him.

[Pause]

4 Sandra: Where are you from?
5 Patient: Cameroon.
6 Sandra: Do you speak more languages?
7 Patient: No.
8 Sandra: Just French?
9 Moussa: [Name of the patient], do you speak Wolof?
10 Patient: No.
11 Sandra: I am doing my internship here, and she [points at the author of the paper] is doing a study.
12 Patient: I want to know more about loa loa.

[The interpreter takes out her phone, searches the word on the internet and then hands her phone to the patient]

This follow-up appointment in Tropical Medicine involves the participation of a twenty-seven year old Cameroonian patient, three doctors and two interpreters. One of the doctors is a consultant and the remaining professionals are residents. Regarding the interpreters, Sandra serves as a communication bridge whilst she is supervised by Moussa, an interpreter outside the sample used in this paper. The patient is informed about the results of some previous tests, which point out to a number of illnesses. Upon hearing the news, the

patient shows distress, curses and has teary eyes. He asks questions to seek clarification, sometimes to Sandra, and she encourages him to inquire the doctors of unknown concepts in different moments of the encounter.

At one point the medical professionals leave the room to collect materials for an additional test, thus creating a moment of in-between. Sandra seizes the opportunity to ask the patient if he is okay and, once more, urges him to pose questions to the doctor. Subsequently, Sandra initiates small talk, an attempt to distract the patient and build rapport which is supported by Moussa, but not reciprocated by the patient. He replies with one-word answers and shows no interest in small talk, redirecting the conversation towards loa loa, his main concern. Once more, the interpreter surpasses her role as a conduit and takes it upon herself to educate the patient by providing him information on her phone. Compassion seems to be the underlying reason for Sandra's decision.

Moments of in-between occurring in the middle of a consultation can also trigger conflictive situations for interpreters if patients share information when the doctor is not present. This is one of the main reasons why standard practices highly recommend interpreters to avoid staying alone with patients. Viviana and Lucía share their impressions concerning these situations:

> (Spanish) Viviana: I stayed alone with the patient, who told me that he had taken antibiotics for four days and they were doing nothing. When the doctor returned I told her directly.
> Lucía: In these cases I say to the patient: 'OK, say it all when the doctor comes back.' If patients are educated I stay when the doctor leaves and ask them things about the socio-political situation of their country. If not, if I think they are going to flirt with me, I walk out when they doctor does and I say: 'I will be right back, I am going to collect some papers.'

Whereas Viviana informs medical staff about information shared in the in-between, Lucía instructs patients to repeat it themselves once professionals come back. Thus, Viviana collects information in the in-between that translates into visibility when the consultation restarts, as she voices it herself. For her part, Lucía becomes visible in the in-between by instructing patients, to later on remain in the background when patients themselves take the floor and explain the situation to medical staff upon their return. Lucía comments on another aspect that affects whether she stays alone with patients. Depending on the patients' educational level and presumed intentions, she may choose to stay if she can discuss light topics that allow connecting with them or, contrarily, she may opt to leave the room if patients have intentions that put her in a difficult position. This statement gives weight to the idea that social interaction affects the interpreters' choices regarding their role not only in the course of medical consultations, but also in the in-between. Lucía avoids situations that can lead to uncomfortable situations, as these come in conflict with external restrictions on her professional role.

8.4. When the consultation takes place in two different physical spaces

The last area of in-between occurs when medical consultations take place in two separate physical spaces. This may be caused by two different reasons. Doctors may initiate the medical interview in a room that does not have an examination table, which implies moving

to a different space. On the other hand, sometimes consultation rooms do not have printers or materials and doctors must go to the secretary's office to either collect these or print out documents. At any rate, there is an intermediate pause in the course of the consultation that creates the in-between. Interpreters sometimes walk next to the doctors or follow them into the secretary's office, thus separating themselves from the patient. In opposite situations, they stay with the patients and become visible to varying extents.

(5) [The doctor abandons the consultation room and walks to the secretary's office. Sandra and the patient wait in the corridor. The interpreter seizes the opportunity to fill in a form and asks the patient about his level of satisfaction with the service provided]

[Smiling tone]

(French) 1 Patient: I am ill, I cannot complete the interview.

[The interpreter laughs]

2 Patient: Where is your colleague?

3 Sandra: She finished her internship.

4 Patient: When do you finish?

5 Sandra: On [xx] of [Xxxxx]

6 Patient: But… Why am I ill? Why do I have this in my heart?

7 Sandra: Because you have a lot of love to give.

[The patient laughs]

Case 5 depicts a follow-up appointment involving a thirty-three year old Ivorian male patient with a history of high blood pressure. After an introductory round of questions, the doctor measures the patient's blood pressure and comments on his diastolic pressure. The patient laughs in despair and tells the doctor that he does not understand why he has that health problem, giving the professional a chance to assure him that they will find the cause. Afterwards, the doctor tells the patient that they need to go to the secretary's office to print out his next appointment slip. Sandra meets the patient in the corridor and uses this opportunity to fill in the form that needs to be completed for each interpreting session. As both participants know each other, the patient uses a humorous tone and inquires about Sandra's colleague, which subsequently turns into a serious conversation when the patient voices his concerns. In this case, the in-between starts as an additional phase that the interpreter uses to perform a professional task imposed by the institution—i.e. completing a form—that evolves into small talk, and ends with the interpreter resorting to humour to appease the patient. The interpreter provides emotional support in this in-between moment.

As seen in other examples, the in-between that takes place in these spaces is also used to further build rapport between patients and interpreters.

(6) (French) 1 Lucía: She will be right back. She is going to see if she can ask for that test apart from the other tests because it would not be the same, but it would not be urgent.

2 Patient: Okay.

3 Lucía: How is your baby?

4 Patient: Good, it is a little girl.

5 Lucía: Congratulations!

6 Patient: Thanks.

7 Lucía: I think that my blood group is [X] or [Y]. Some people have medals with their groups. Have you seen it? Once a patient had allergy to many things and we made him a medal with all of that and he always used to forget it at home.

[The patient turns to the secretary]

8 Patient: Lucía does not know her group either! Do you?

9 (Interpretation to Spanish)

[The secretary shakes her head and the patient laughs]

Case 6 takes place at the secretary's office after the first stages of a follow-up encounter have been completed in a different space. The doctor prints out the next appointment slips and hands them in to the patient, who asks for an ABO typing to determine his blood group. The doctor leaves the area to forward the question to a more experienced colleague, creating a special kind of in-between where the secretary is also present. Lucía does not present herself as a detached professional in the in-between, but rather a companion, and seeks to strengthen rapport with the patient by bringing up a series of neutral topics that she knows from previous interactions with the patient (i.e. family). She does not seem conflicted to abandon her conduit role and become visible in the presence of another professional. Interestingly, the patient does not only co-construct the interaction, but also seeks to involve the secretary in the small talk that occurs until the doctor returns.

9. Becoming visible: stepping into the in-between

In-between moments emerge as areas of particular interest and complexity that need to be taken into account to approach the role of (healthcare) interpreters. Analysis reveals that spaces-in-between hold great potential for interpreters to transcend imposed identities; they open up opportunities for interpreters to become *visible*, to reveal themselves as active participants, and not just someone else's voice.

Areas of in-between are less structured and seem to be suspended in the interaction, governed by a series of rules less strict than those found in the course of consultations. In intermediate spaces, interpreters seem less conflicted to step outside pre-defined boundaries, as established by codes of ethics or standard practices. They are observed providing medical information and emotional support, engaging in humour and small talk, connecting with patients or encouraging them to pose questions.

Roles enacted in the in-between do not only play a function in building interpreter-patient rapport, but evidence found in this study also suggests that they may have a positive impact in the consultation and, thus, patient-provider relationship. For example, if interpreters build trust with patients in the in-between, the latter may find it easier to discuss delicate topics when inquired by medical staff. In-between spaces thus offer interpreters an opportunity to explore and pour their power in the interaction. This can be thought of as a departing point from which to revisit the role of the interpreter, with special emphasis on its potential in spaces that move beyond consultations. Instead of forcing invisibility on healthcare interpreters, it may be interesting to study the impact of their visibility manifestations in the in-between.

It is, however, important to note that in-between spaces are not 'lawless areas.' Sometimes interpreters remain silent—and thus invisible—in the in-between. They are also seen refusing to engage in conversations that entail surpassing professional limits if, for instance, patients make flirtatious advances. For this reason, in-between spaces must be entered carefully, as they can potentially lead patients to build expectations that put interpreters in uncomfortable situations where limits need to be established.

Areas of in-between must be understood as social places of special friction where the concept of visibility acquires special relevance, usually accompanied by a severe deconstruction of more traditional views of interpreters as linguistic machines. Thus, the in-between is particularly sensitive to dissolution of borders and boundary crossing with regards to the healthcare interpreters' ascribed role.

The level of visibility that interpreters deploy in the in-between may vary, but it is particularly noticeable when interpreters accompany patients. These in-between areas, together with the ones resulting from consultations being held in two different physical spaces, represent an extension from the areas of in-between defined by Shaffer (2020). Thus, it can be said that institutional expectations and impositions, described by means of job offers and healthcare centres' policies, together with contextual and interactional factors, may affect where and how the in-between emerges as a sociological place. Further studies will help to broaden our knowledge of the in-between and potentially find new areas of interest that, in turn, will help to advance research on role.

10. Future research

This paper set out to explore the in-between as a social area of interest for approaching the role of healthcare interpreters. Participant observation in this paper supports and broadens Shaffer (2020) findings, but also opens up new questions that need to be addressed with complementary research. More precisely, interpreters of this study did not share a cultural background with the patients, hence making it worth investigating if sharing cultural roots affects interactions in the in-between. Additionally, analysis in this paper deals with a limited number of examples. Thus, conclusions need to be further validated against a wider dataset reflecting areas of in-between in different healthcare institutions, ideally in other regions of Spain and maybe countries, or even in different public service settings. These additional approaches are necessary to further understand how moments in-between may affect subsequent interactions where medical staff is present, as well as their potential benefits in language-discordant consultations.

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Dr. Cristina Álvaro Aranda
FITISPos-UAH Research Group
University of Alcalá
Calle de la Trinidad, 1, 28801, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Spain
cristina.alvaroa@gmail.com

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Towards recommendations for TV sign language interpretation[1]

Marta Bosch-Baliarda, Pilar Orero, Olga Soler-Vilageliu
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Sign language interpreting (SLI) on TV is still in need of basic research to support video production guidelines, a complex matter given the variety of sign language styles and screen layouts adopted by international broadcasters. The current paper aims to draft recommendations regarding the formal parameters for displaying SLI on TV. First, it offers an overview of current SLI access services. Second, it proposes a set of variables to be further studied. Third, it reports on feedback gathered from stakeholders. The article concludes with a list of recommendations that may be applied by broadcasters offering SLI access services.

Key words: sign language interpreting, accessibility, deaf TV service users, media interpreting, audiovisual translation

1. Introduction

Sign language interpreting (SLI) on TV is one of the three major TV accessibility services, along with subtitling and audio description (e.g. European Parliament 2010a; European Parliament 2010b; European Parliament 2015; International Telecommunication Union [ITU] 2014a; Looms 2009). SLI access services need to improve both in terms of quantity and quality. On the one hand, affordability of the services should go beyond the amount of current broadcasting time (e.g. European Broadcasting Union [EBU] 2016; European Regulators Group for Audiovisual Media Accessibility [ERGA] 2016; Office of Communications [Ofcom] 2017; Haualand & Allen 2009). On the other hand, the quality of the SLI service may depend on various factors such as the language and interpreting skills of the interpreter, or the technical requirements impacting legibility of the signed content. "Television programmes […] may add layers of complexity by placing sign or text over the existing visual message. This creates interesting issues which are currently unresolved as to how to convey information with mixtures of signing, visual action, speech and text" (Kyle, Reilly, Allsop, Clark & Dury 2005: 57). Hence, the importance of studying which formal parameters and layouts affect on-screen sign language legibility and overall screen readability. Both legibility and readability may impact on service usability and, ultimately the service user experience.

Previous studies, mainly from the past EU funded project DTV4ALL, indicated that users prefer an inversion of the content priority where SLI has (visual) priority over the broadcast content as can be seen in Figure 1 (e.g. DTV4ALL 2008; Guttermuth 2011; Kyle,2007; Wehrmeyer 2014).

Figure 1 *SLI in the Danish broadcaster DR (reproduced from DTV4ALL 2008)*

While former research indicates that the screen layout shown in Figure 1 is the preferred format, these findings have not translated into standardised guidelines (e.g. Independent Television Commission [ITC] 2010; Esteban-Saiz 2017; National Disability Authority [NDA] 2014).

The overarching aim of the present paper is to identify the best SL on-screen presentation mode on TV. In order to identify which formal features could be recommended to include SLI on the screen, we have conducted a qualitative analysis of current SLI practice. First, we analysed the screen layouts adopted by 42 international broadcasters (section 2), to identify the variety of formal features that may occur. Second, we gathered feedback from stakeholders in Catalonia —SLI interpreters and deaf signing TV consumers— in order to evaluate the formal features identified in the previous phase and shortlist what features enhance user experience and usability (section 3). The hypothesis is that the preferred screen composite layout identified in previous research (see Figure 1), is influenced by the TV genre most widely available to deaf signing TV consumers, namely news broadcasts. Language information in news broadcasting is more relevant than visual information, especially when the regular newsreader is on the screen. This could explain why the interpreted sign language content is given a more prominent position than the broadcast content. Based on the findings from sections 2 and 3, section 4 offers a series of recommendations for the inclusion of SLI on TV broadcasts. Finally, discussion and conclusions are presented (section 5).

2. Data collection from broadcasters across 42 countries

The first stage of the research was to understand which formal features could impact the reception of SLI on TV. With this aim, screen layouts were collected from different international broadcasters, offering an overview of the formal features applied by broadcasters within and outside of the EU. The first data were collected from the online platform Sign Language Television for the Deaf.[2] This platform includes different accessible TV programmes from broadcasters in 42 countries. From this website 100 screen shots were retrieved with the aim to classify the many features and formats used when presenting sign-interpreted programmes on TV (Redón 2014). These data were analysed further, taking into account some of the common variable formal parameters and features previously described in

the literature (e.g. Gil-Sabroso & Utray 2016; Kyle, Reilly, Allsop, Clark & Dury 2005; Van der Graaf & Van der Ham 2003). The selected parameters were: SL on-screen presentation mode (Table 1), shot size (Table 2), interpreter's clothing colour (Table 3), interpreter's on-screen size (Table 4),[3] interpreter's location on the screen (Table 5). Tables 1–5 present the different categories analysed for each parameter.

Picture-in-picture box	49%
Split screen	27%
Chroma key (silhouette)	24%

Table 1 *SL on-screen presentation modes*

Long shot (LS)	30%
Medium long shot (MLS)	7%
Mid shot (MS)	49%
Medium close-up (MCU)	14%

Table 2 *Shot size*

Plain light-colour	14%
Plain dark-colour	62%
Patterned	24%

Table 3 *Interpreter's clothing colour*

Small	24%
Medium	44%
Large	32%

Table 4 *Interpreter's on-screen size*

	Bottom	Centre	Top
Right	40%	21%	3%
Left	17%	19%	0%

Table 5 *Interpreter's location on the screen*

The collected data analysis shows a great deal of variation among different broadcasters. It also shows an incongruity between the screen layouts adopted by broadcasters, and the user preferred option as shown in Figure 1. From the data collected in Redón (2014) the stereotyped format of SLI is a female interpreter, wearing plain dark-colour clothes, filmed in a mid-shot and shown in a medium-sized frame placed in the bottom right-hand corner of the screen. Figure 2 illustrates this common format.

Figure 2 *Common format of SLI on TV derived from the data analysed*

The typical layout (Figure 2) versus the one preferred by viewers (Figure 1) differ largely. The most common layout features a medium sized picture-in-picture frame, showing a medium-sized mid-shot of the interpreter, either side-by-side or overlaying on the news content. This contrasts with the one preferred by viewers: a prominent interpreter in a foreground position inserted in a layer in front of the broadcast news content, with mid-long shot, occupying a third of the screen width (e.g. DTV4ALL 2008; Kyle 2007; Wehrmeyer 2014). These differences affect the prominence of the interpreter in both the relative size and the on-screen presentation mode.

Variation in screen layout is not only found among broadcasters from different countries within and outside the EU (EBU 2016) but also sometimes within the same broadcaster. A second data collection process was designed in order to discuss the observed variation and understand which of the described formal parameters and features are perceived

to affect legibility of the SLI on the screen the most. Information was gathered from two groups directly involved in sign language production and reception on TV: sign language interpreting professionals who currently work or have worked on TV and signing deaf people. For each group a different qualitative data collection method was designed and developed.

3. Collecting data from service providers: TV sign language interpreters

Sign language communities are a minority group. They include not only signing deaf people but also their families and the professionals who take an active role in their cultural and linguistic daily life (e.g. De Meulder, Krausneker, Turner & Conama 2018; Harris, Holmes, & Mertens 2009). Before SLI studies became part of mainstream education programmes, sign language interpreters were normally signing hearing children of deaf parents. Even today some professionals are CODAs (Children of Deaf Adults) or their relatives (Bontempo 2015). In Catalonia (7.5 million citizens) there are some 25,000 Catalan Sign Language (*Llengua de Signes Catalana*, LSC) users, out of which 6,000 are deaf or deafblind (Cabeza & Porteiro 2010).

3.1. Professional interpreters' interviews: Method

We interviewed TV sign language interpreters to collect qualitative data. Sign language interpreters can both provide professional first-hand information and report specific feedback from their Deaf consumers. This method was chosen to allow interaction with professionals on the pre-selected format features.

3.1.1. Participants

Currently there are ten professional TV sign language interpreters in Catalonia working for both local and national broadcasters. These ten professionals were contacted through the Association of Sign Language Interpreters and Guide-Interpreters of Catalonia (*Associació d'Intèrprets de Llengua de Signes i Guies-Intèrpret de Catalunya*, ACILS),[4] and the Catalan Federation of Deaf People (*Federació de Persones Sordes de Catalunya*, FESOCA).[5]All potential participants were contacted either by phone or email.

Finally, a total of 12 professionals (9 female and 3 male) agreed to participate in the research, including nine active professionals and three professionals no longer working for TV. The median age of the participants was 38 (ages raging from 30 to 46). All participants were certified interpreters. Six participants who received their qualifications after 2000 had a level 5 diploma in sign language interpreting and guide-interpreting. The other six participants had other qualifications and accreditations (four of them were CODAs). All the interpreters had at least 3 years of work experience on TV. On average, interpreters had 4 years of prior professional experience in different settings, other than TV.

3.1.2. Materials

During the interview a personal computer was used to take notes and display a selection of screenshots collected from the online platform Sign Language Television for the Deaf. The semi-structured interviews were designed in five sections: 1) personal and professional information, 2) professional experience with TV interpreting, 3) formal aspects

of on-screen presentation (including screen-shots when available), 4) feedback from Deaf consumers regarding the formal aspects of SL on-screen presentation, and 5) open questions about other professional and formal aspects not asked in previous sections. Sections 1 to 4 consisted of a series of pre-determined, open-response questions that all interviewees answered in the same order.

3.1.3. Procedure

Prior to the interviews, a written questionnaire including the demographic information and outline of the pre-determined sections of the interview was sent to all participants. Respondents were asked to send screen-shots of their professional work in TV interpreting, if available. The preferred method of carrying out the interviews was face to face. Interviews were held in both public and private locations according to the interviewees' preferences to facilitate participation. Due to geographic distance and personal availability, one interview was conducted via video call and two via phone call. Due to time constraints one phone call participant did not finish all five sections. They were completed a few days later and sent via email. The interviews lasted from one to up to three hours. No participant was excluded.

All interviews started with sections 1 to 4. In section 3, if the professionals could not provide a screen-shot demonstrating their own on-screen presentation mode, they were asked to describe it, paying special attention to all the formal features. After the interview participants browsed the different screenshots collected from the online platform Sign Language Television for the Deaf. This was aimed to elicit further comments on formal features of SLI insertion. After the interview, the notes were sent via email to each participant to check their content. This in-depth qualitative research was carried out over a period of two months.

3.2. Professional interpreters' interviews: Results

Interview results show that both professional interpreters and deaf TV consumers agree that the most important formal aspect of SL on-screen presentation is size —provided that other more basic technical requirements are met (e.g. lighting technique). The perception of the interpreter's on-screen size mainly depends on two formal features: the size of the picture-in-picture box and the shot size. Although some broadcasters have an online feedback service, it is rarely used by consumers to make suggestions or complaints. According to the public Catalan Corporation of Audiovisual Media (*Corporació catalana de mitjans audiovisuals*, CCMA) Accessibility and Audience Feedback Services, only 6 people asked about the sign language service between 2015 and 2018 and none made reference to formal requirements (CCMA, personal communication, April 2, 2019). According to the information obtained in the interviews, deaf TV consumers provide their feedback more frequently by direct contact with the TV sign language interpreters via personal and informal ways. When discussing user feedback, interpreters mention that deaf consumers mostly complain about the interpreter's box being too small. Whenever the box is enlarged, user feedback is always positive. Interpreters also note that shot size also influences the overall size perception. Feedback from the consumers points to a medium long shot as the preferred format. That is just a bit shorter than a knee shot, with some space above the head to allow signs in that region to be clearly seen.

However, interpreters working on TV sometimes need to adapt. When the picture-in-picture box is too small interpreters ask the cameramen for a shorter shot for greater hand

visibility. Even though a mid-shot imposes restrictions on the signing space, it is always preferable to a longer shot because the latter makes hand size look even smaller. During the interviews, interpreters mentioned that they always tackle these technical issues during their TV assignments, while broadcasters are generally unaware of them.

Background colour was the second most frequently mentioned formal feature of SL on-screen presentation, and the feedback varies greatly. The reported colours ranged from plain white to grey, orange, all shades of blue and black, or even dotted or patterned backgrounds. This formal variation is due to personal aesthetic choices as to which colours match or contrast with the general on-screen setup of a given TV programme. SL on-screen legibility partly depends on the contrast between the background and the colour of the interpreter's skin and clothing. The right colour combination may contribute to the attractiveness and the visibility of the language presentation (World Wide Web Consortium [W3C] 2016). The interpreters also reported that service users mention that an unsuitable colour of the background not only affects legibility but may also result in eye fatigue. As for the colour of clothing, SL interpreters in Catalonia tend to wear plain dark clothes, and in formal assignments black is always preferred over alternatives. All interpreters currently working on TV said they wear black clothes and mentioned that users tend to accept this as part of their uniform. Most users complaining about colour contrast would rather change the background colour than the clothing colour.

The last formal feature is speed. This feature was not in our original list, but was brought up by professionals in their interviews as one of the most powerful factors in successful communication. Most TV interpreters work on news programmes and speech rate tends to be higher than normal speech rate. According to Serrat-Manén (2011) CCMA news interpreted into sign language show a rate of 2.8 words per second, which is very fast compared to signing news produced by deaf people at Gallaudet University in Washington DC (between 1.4 and 1.8 words per second). Professionals found it difficult to convey every single word. Common interpreting strategies to compensate for a high-speed rate are to paraphrase, compress or omit some information such as transitions between news or greetings (see Isal 2015 for an analysis of sports news reports broadcast by the CCMA). Also reported by interpreters are reading difficulties when finger-spelling names, especially for uncommon longer names in foreign languages. An interesting solution reported was to buffer TV reception to allow for personalised speed. It is worth mentioning that apart from a few exceptions all TV interpreters have worked in news broadcasting, and only three in other TV genres. One has also worked on a children's show at CCMA and the two Catalan professionals working for the Spanish commercial TV channel *La Sexta* have also interpreted some films.

Both interpreters at *La Sexta* also mentioned negative feedback from deaf users about the interaction between subtitles and the interpreter's box. In *La Sexta* subtitling, interpreting, and the digital on-screen graphics share the same bottom-of-the-screen area. From time to time these different layers of information overlap. Consumers suggested that the interpreter's box and subtitles should be displayed in different parts of the screen.

There was general agreement that the most frequent end-user feedback is on language features and content rather than on formal aspects. Interpreters are commonly contacted about the use of regional dialectal signs or neologisms, as well as regarding the general linguistic skills and performance of the interpreter (either to praise them or to suggest improvements).

4. Collecting data from service users: signing deaf TV consumers

According to the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) report on accessibility services, public European broadcasters deliver sign language on 4% of programmes on average (e.g. EBU 2016; ERGA 2016). Although sign languages are under-represented in mainstream media, deaf signers are expert users of TV accessibility services and have an opinion. To determine key formal features and their hierarchy, it is important to gather their views. To this aim a focus group study was designed as the primary qualitative data collection method.

4.1. Focus group with deaf users: Method

In order to raise interest in the topic within the Catalan Sign Language community, we contacted the National Federation of Deaf People of Catalonia (FESOCA). Contacts were also made by participating in the 5th Catalan Sign Language Seminar (Barcelona 2014), which is a social and scientific event organised especially for LSC teachers and other members of the Sign Language community in Catalonia. In this event we were invited to give a 40-minute presentation about the HBB4ALL project. Regarding the sign language pilot study, we presented the data included in section 2. After the presentation, many deaf people showed interest and were willing to share their opinions with us. We also recorded a recruitment video message in LSC asking for collaboration in a focus group to discuss the formal aspects of on-screen sign language presentation. FESOCA sent the video message to all the local associations, the majority of signing deaf people associations in Catalonia. The local associations then forwarded the information to their members.

4.1.1. Participants

The recruitment video message had 184 views and a total of 13 users contacted to participate. A total of 8 participants (7 female and 1 male) took part across 2 sessions. The participant median age was 43. The first session grouped older deaf people (with a participant median age of 63, ages ranging 50-72) whereas the second gathered younger users (with a participant median age of 23, ages ranging 22-38). This distribution was accidental, as users chose either session voluntarily.

All participants were deaf people from the Barcelona region. They all had either or both attended a deaf education center and were active members of a local deaf association. All were profoundly deaf, either congenitally deaf or deaf before the age of 3. They all reported LSC as their first language. Three of the participants were born to signing deaf families and 5 were born to hearing families, one of which reported the occasional use of sign language within the family.

In regard to TV and choice of access services, they all reported having viewed both subtitled and interpreted TV content when available. All but one of the participants mentioned they like to use both access services. Three participants reported to have watched interpreted content within 24 hours prior to the focus group session.

4.1.2. Materials

The focus group sessions were conducted in a meeting room in Casa del Mar, a public venue close to a deaf high school in Barcelona used to host Catalan Sign Language community events. The room was equipped with an overhead projector, a screen and a

desktop computer. During the focus group sessions screenshots and video clips were displayed showing different screen formats and on-screen presentation setups.

The participants were placed at two different tables arranged in a V shape facing the screen and the interviewer. Three cameras were used to record each session. Apart from the researcher two other people were present: a research assistant and cameraperson, both fluent signers. Three written forms were administered: an informed consent form, an image release form, and a questionnaire. To fill in the relevant forms and complete the last task of the session there were pens, paper, coloured pencils, and crayons. The questionnaire had two parts: the first part was designed to collect demographic information including hearing status, language use and social participation in the Sign Language community. The second part of the questionnaire gathered information about the habits of the participants as TV and access service consumers.

4.1.3. Procedure

LSC was the language of communication throughout the focus group discussion. At the beginning of the session the participants were welcomed and informed about the procedure and expected duration of the session. The three written information and consent forms were handed out. Both the researcher and the sign language research assistant helped to translate and answered questions about the content of the forms when needed. The aim of the focus group sessions was to discuss all the formal features of on-screen interpreting previously described in the initial data collection phase (see section 2) and those discussed in the interviews with the SLI professionals (see section 3). The results from the interviews were the starting point for the group discussion.

After collecting the completed forms, the group discussion began. From the beginning of the sessions it was stressed that the goal of the focus group study was to discuss the formal features affecting sign-interpreted broadcasts, as opposed to the interpreting and language skills of the SLI professionals.

Both focus group sessions followed a structured outline and made use of the same input materials. The session was organised in seven sections designed to provoke discussion on two topics: the formal features of SLI presentation on broadcast news, and different TV programme genres.

To focus the discussion, previous research within the HBB4ALL project was presented. The features of SL on-screen presentation researched as part of the first data collection process were summarised. Then four video clips (approximately ten seconds each) were shown to illustrate different on-screen presentation setups used by the Catalan or Spanish broadcasters. The third section introduced the results from the interpreter interviews. The following sections aimed to introduce other formal features not previously discussed and not analysed with the previous data collection methods. To wrap up this first part of the session, ten screen shots showing a wide variety of formal characteristics of SL on-screen presentation were selected and displayed. They illustrated several setups of the formal features under discussion and elicited new feature discussion. The participants were encouraged to come up with other formal features, not previously described. The final section was oriented towards rating the formal features from the most to the least important for accessibility. To close the session the participants were asked to draw two TV screens on DIN-A4 white paper and depict the best and the worst screen layouts.

After each session we took notes to summarise the main issues discussed. The videos recorded during the sessions were edited to show all participants simultaneously using

picture-in-picture. The relevant parts of the videos were transcribed using glosses for further analysis.

4.2. Focus group with deaf users: Results

The results from the focus group sessions with end-users are consistent with the feedback reported by the interpreters. All participants considered the interpreter's on-screen size to be the most important factor influencing accessibility. Most agreed that approximately a third of a vertically split screen and the use of MS/MLS would be the most suitable setup in this regard. Participants also agreed that different types of TV genres should use different SL presentation modes, utilising different formal features. They acknowledged that the only type of TV programme that they could access regularly in LSC was news broadcasts, and they would need more experience and time to find the best setup for other TV genres. Regarding size, for example, most mentioned that for films or TV series they would prefer a smaller interpreter. They also mentioned the possibility of adjusting clothes and colours according to the target audience and content. Some suggested that for interviews, or some reality shows, more than one interpreter could be used in different parts of the screen to match speaker location.

Deaf users also considered colour contrast to be one of the most important features. However, they did consider the possibility of interpreters wearing colours other than black, as a way to prevent eye-fatigue and provide colour contrast. The participants also mentioned the need to be consistent in the future if colours and the interpreter dress code matched the type of programs and their targeted audience. The suggested colours for the interpreter clothing showed a wide range of preferences including: light, dark, bright, and the classic black. They all seemed to prefer plain colours with no patterns. There was no consensus regarding the background colour beyond the expectation that it should contrast with clothing and skin colour. This was suggested as a means of highlighting linguistic details and preventing eye-fatigue. Regarding the colour contrast and the on-screen presentation mode, most participants considered that embedding the interpreter in a framed picture-in-picture box, rather than using chroma key technology, was a better way to guarantee contrast. Some participants mentioned that the contrast between the interpreter's box and the screen should also be considered.

Deaf consumers also discussed the overlaying (or even overlapping) of subtitling and the digital on-screen graphic with the interpreter's box on the screen. They all agreed overlapping should be avoided. Given that subtitles are displayed at the bottom of the screen most participants agreed that the sign language interpreter's box should be placed midway along the vertical axis. However, while there was no consensus regarding the right/left location, the participants agreed that the position parameter affected the overall screen readability. Interestingly, some said it was more comfortable to start by viewing the sign language on the right and then continue reading the subtitles whereas others argued the opposite.

When asked about the speed of delivery, most did not feel it was a feature that could be altered and would not elaborate further on this. They seemed to accept that news is delivered at a rapid pace of speech and that it is the interpreter's job to keep up with it, regardless of the challenges posed. They did point out that having the option to slow down the speed would make the content accessible for more people.

All the other features such as: gender, age, appearance or position, were considered irrelevant to accessibility. However, both groups agreed that certain aesthetics are important to appear on TV and always stressed the importance of interpreting skills, and cultural background. Further results and comments that arose during the focus group sessions are included in the next section as recommendations.

5. Recommendations for sign language on-screen presentation on TV

In addition to the commonly agreed criteria mentioned in sections 3.2 and 4.2, in both sets of interviews additional criteria were proposed. The provisional recommendations for SLI broadcast we suggest in this section combine our findings from the qualitative studies with previous guidelines for including a sign language in the video stream or in other multimedia content access services (for guidelines on TV see Centro de Normalización de la Lengua de Signos Española [CNLSE] 2017; ITC 2010; ITU 2014b; NDA 2014; Ofcom,2015, 2017; for web-accessibility metrics see W3C 2016; for signing video books see Pyfers 2000; for video interpreting see Ryan & Skinner 2015; and for hardware and software see Oliver, Martín & Utray 2009). Finally, the recommendations on size and position of the interpreter on the screen are partially supported by the results from experimental tests using eye-tracking and recall measures (Bosch-Baliarda, Soler-Vilageliu & Orero, 2020).

5.1. Signer Filming

Lighting is crucial for sign language articulators to be clearly seen with no shadows or dark parts on or around the signer. It is especially important to control the signing space, the shot size and the eye-line. The signing space is the area in front of the signer, and is used to articulate all the signs. This is very important because sign language is a three-dimensional language using different active articulators: in the head, torso and arms including face, lips, tongue and eyes, shoulders and arms, hands and fingers (Pyfers 2000). All these body articulators should be in shot at all times. Another important issue is that the signing space may vary from language to language, signer to signer, or even within different registers.

When filming the signer:

a. Check the lighting
b. When framing the shot: check the size of the signing space with the signer
c. Use a medium long shot to film the signer
d. When framing the signer: leave some room above the signer's head and on both sides
e. Use an eye-level camera angle with the signers' head at the level of the focus
f. Use a frontal or a semi-profile shot
g. Maintain the shot

Additionally:

h. Avoid shadows on or around the signer
i. Avoid long shots or close-ups
j. Avoid cut-offs
k. Avoid using different shot sizes
l. Avoid high and low camera angles

5.2. Interaction with the visuals and screen layout

On-screen sign language implies the presentation of a visual language through the visual medium. One of the key concepts to bear in mind is split or divided attention. Deaf signers need to attend to both the signed input and the visual medium broadcasting visual content. Not only promoting positive interaction with on-screen visual information, but also avoiding negative interaction is fundamental to screen readability. The signer creates a positive interaction when the signed discourse is related to the visual information on screen. This is performed by pointing to the visuals or incorporating the visual properties of the objects on the screen into the signed discourse. On the other hand, negative interaction is created whenever blockages or obstructions occur. On some occasions, visual information blocks the signer, such as: digital on-screen graphics, on screen text or subtitles. A fundamental requirement is to avoid obstructing the interpreter's facial expressions or hand-shapes. On other occasions, it is the signer who blocks, completely or partially, other on-screen visual information.

When designing the screen layout:

a. Facilitate positive interaction between the signer and the on-screen visual information

b. Provide the interpreter with all additional visual information prior to the interpreting/translation service (i.e. clips, graphics, tables)

c. Let the signer know where the visual information will appear on the screen prior to the interpreting/translation service (i.e. presenters, interviewers/interviewees, clips, graphics, tables)

d. Allow time to attend to all the visual information on the screen

Additionally:

e. Avoid any visual, on-screen information blocking the signer

f. Avoid the signer blocking any of the visual information on the screen

g. Avoid overlapping of the interpreter's box, when using picture-in-picture or chroma key technology

5.3. Colour combination

Colour contrast and combination are important to grant accessibility of sign language on screen. Three different aspects can impact colour interactions: background colour, the colour of the signer's clothes, and the signer skin colour. The colour combination can affect perception, legibility, and thus accessibility. Negative colour interactions can produce eye fatigue. Colour contrast and combinations have an even greater impact on accessibility for deaf-blind users. Deaf-blind people who typically use sign language services are congenitally deaf people who have acquired blindness later on in life; often they are not completely blind but have low vision, different eye conditions or are partially sighted.

Regarding colours:

a. Provide the signer with clothes that contrast with their skin colour

b. Provide the signer with one-colour plain clothes with no patterns

c. Use a plain, patternless background for the signer that contrasts with the signers skin

d. Use a dark blue plain background to grant accessibility to the deaf-blind users

Additionally:

e. Avoid multi-coloured or patterned clothes
f. Avoid multi-coloured or patterned background
g. Avoid dark spots or shadows on or around the signer

5.4. Shape and size of the sign language on screen

Deaf signers normally mention the size of the signer as the most important feature affecting legibility. It is important for older and deaf-blind users. The size and shape of the signer also reflect and affect the language status on broadcast media. The recommended minimum size established in earlier guidelines for picture-in-picture interpreters was at least one-sixth of the picture area, roughly 1/3 of the screen width, based mostly on news broadcast (e.g. ITC 2010; Ofcom 2015). However, this might not be optimal for other TV genres (Bosch-Baliarda, Soler-Vilageliu & Orero, 2020).

Regarding size and shape:
a. Present a "human-sized" signer
b. Use a rectangular-shaped signer's box, when using picture-in-picture technology
c. Provide a box at least 1/4 of the width of the screen
Additionally:
d. Avoid miniaturised signers
e. Avoid using circular or egg-shaped boxes when using picture-in-picture technology

5.5. Position of the sign language interpreter on screen

The on-screen position of the interpreter is determined in terms of left and right along the horizontal axis, and top, central, and bottom along the vertical axis. The most common location is bottom-right. However, it seems there could be cultural differences or learning effects regarding side preferences. Whereas British (Ofcom 2015), Spanish (Gil-Sabroso & Utray 2016) and German deaf viewers (HBB4ALL 2017) prefer the signer to be placed screen-right, Catalan deaf viewers did not show a clear preference when it comes to the horizontal location of the interpreter. Similarly, Van der Graaf & Van der Ham (2003) showed that Dutch deaf viewers preferred the screen-right position (coinciding with the common broadcast format) but considered the screen-left area appropriate too. Results from the experimental reception tests indicate that left position might enhance overall readability (Bosch-Baliarda, Soler-Vilageliu & Orero, 2020).

On the vertical axis, central positions seem to facilitate reading the different visuals on the screen and to allow positive interaction with the subtitles. Position choice made by broadcasters is dictated by design criteria rather than accessibility criteria.

News broadcasting is the genre commonly chosen by broadcasters for signing services. The screen layout for news broadcasting includes the visual information, the hearing newsreader and the sign language newsreader or interpreter. Eye-tracking studies have shown deaf people do not pay attention to the hearing newsreader (e.g. Gutermuth 2011; Wehrmeyer 2013; 2014), but rather concentrate on the signer and sometimes attend to the main visual information on the screen.

Regarding the screen position:
a. Use a central position along the vertical axis of the screen to present the sign language

b. Contact your national association of the deaf to know if they have any preference in regard to the positioning of the interpreter along the horizontal axis (screen-right or screen-left area).
c. Choose preferably the screen-left position and use it throughout your broadcast programs
d. Place the visuals between the signer and the news presenter
Additionally:
e. Avoid top and bottom positions
f. Avoid using different positions for different programs
g. Avoid placing the newsreader between the visual information and the signer

5.6. Recruitment of sign language professionals

It is important that broadcasters hire qualified and experienced interpreters, who have worked in a variety of interpreting settings, and have been exposed to different sign language users, so they can adjust to a wide range of registers, according to the programs and target audiences. Moreover, media interpreters need to be highly skilled interpreters. They should have native-command of the national sign language of the country and they should also have up-to-date knowledge of neologisms and terminology of current events. They have to be suitably trained for TV interpreting, that is, they should be familiar with using a teleprompter, signing in front of the camera and having no feedback from users. These are some characteristics that novice interpreters might not be equipped with.

Recruiting sign language interpreters (including both deaf and hearing):
a. Contact the national association to learn about the sign language qualifications and training in your country
b. Hire only qualified, accredited or registered interpreters
c. Hire signers with native-command of their national sign language(s)
d. Hire experienced interpreters
e. Hire highly skilled interpreters
f. Offer training for signers and interpreters (media technologies)
g. Always ask for expert advice when casting or recruiting new signers/interpreters

5.7. Preparation time and materials

Service preparation time is crucial to ensure interpreting quality in the visual media. The interpreter should have time to prepare for the task prior to the actual interpretation. During this preparation time, the relevant visual materials should be provided: the script, the step outline and/or the video clips that will be used in the program. Sign language is a visual language and the interpreter should interact positively with the visual media.

Before the sign language interpreting/translation service:
a. Provide all the audio-visual materials (clips, graphics, etc.)
b. Provide the script or step-outline
c. Allow sufficient time for preparation
Additionally:
d. Avoid introducing new visual materials without letting the signer know
e. Avoid hiring the signer only for the time of the assignment

6. Discussion and conclusion

Our findings suggest that both target groups consider the interpreter's size and speed of delivery the two most important formal features determining accessibility. These findings are consistent with previous research on other sign languages. For sign language users size and speed are as important as the linguistic content, and the interpreter's linguistic and interpreting skills (e.g. Steiner 1998; Wehrmeyer 2013; 2014; Xiao & Li 2013 as cited in Wehrmeyer 2014). Findings from the focus group study also suggest that the minimum size of the interpreter or the interpreter's box should be at least one-fourth of the total screen width regardless of the TV genre, which is relatively large for an embedded image. Previous guidelines suggested a minimum size of at least one-sixth of the picture area and were mainly based on news broadcasts (e.g. ITC 2010, Ofcom 2017). However, deaf SLI service users agreed that a larger image of the signer such as those described as the preferred setup in earlier literature would be appropriate for news broadcasts but not for other programme genres (as reported in section 4.2).

Another finding in our study is that miniaturised interpreters not only negatively affect accessibility but also the language's social status. Furthermore, adoption of smaller image sizes might have a negative impact on the TV providers' reputation within the Sign Language Community. Deaf signing TV consumers seem to assume it is a strategy used by broadcasters to comply with accessibility policies without providing actual access. Hence, customisation of the image size seems to be one of the formal parameters to be prioritised in future practice.

Regarding the position of the interpreter or the interpreter's box on the screen, our findings show a greater variation. Previous literature suggests that users preferred a right-hand-side position (e.g. DTV4ALL 2008; Gil-Sabroso & Utray 2016; Kyle 2007; Ofcom 2015; Van der Graaf & Van der Ham 2003; Whermeyer 2014). However, the results from the focus group study show that users either preferred a left position or considered the horizontal location of the interpreter irrelevant to the accessibility of the service. However, experimental tests using eye-tracking and memory measures indicate that significantly better results are achieved with screen layouts featuring the interpreter on the left and at a medium size (Bosch-Baliarda, Soler-Vilageliu & Orero, 2020).

In any case, both individual and cultural differences may exist due to a learning effect. Since the Catalan national broadcaster is currently deploying this access service using a left-central on-screen position, Catalan deaf signers may have been influenced by their TV consumption habits. This contrasts with the interpreted content broadcasts in Spanish Sign Language or LSE (also available to Catalan deaf signers): According to Gil-Sabroso & Utray (2016), 90% of the interpreted broadcasts in LSE implement a bottom-right location. Regarding the vertical position, users also commented that they preferred a more central position to avoid negative interaction with the subtitles. Although studying the interaction between subtitling and signing was clearly not our goal, we observed that deaf users exploit both access services in many different ways according to availability, literacy skills, TV genre and personal preferences (e.g. Bernabé & Orero 2019; Gaerts, Cesar & Bulterman 2008; Kurz & Mikulasek 2004).

In a similar unforeseen way, participants in both sets of interviews and focus groups pointed out that broadcasters deploying sign-interpreted content tend not to have sufficient knowledge about the Sign Language Community as a language minority. According to the

participants, some broadcasters still think that subtitling can grant full accessibility to all deaf people, regardless of their primary language of communication and thus think that SLI provision is redundant or unnecessary (see Neves 2007 for a discussion on the divide between subtitling and sign language on TV). Additionally, lack of awareness of the peculiarities of the sign language modality sometimes leads to misconceptions and prejudices that can affect sign language representation on the screen. More specifically, interpreters report that broadcasters are not familiar with the professional role of the SLI or the existing technical guidelines regarding on-screen presentation of SLI. This unawareness can impact negatively on the quality of the service and might explain why it is still not widely adopted.

The results of our research are preliminary. This initial probing of the current practice is a first step towards further investigation into the issues of sign language interpreting and its TV presentation. The main limitation of our findings is the number of participants, which is quite low, as with most research in Media Accessibility (Orero et al. 2018). Our tentative recommendations should be further validated by more experimental research methods, like the ones used in studying size and position.

Given the new ways of customising accessibility services on TV (Mas & Orero 2018), there are various areas of research worth pursuing, including viewers' preferences regarding sign language presentation depending on the TV genre, the implementation of formal features or interaction between different accessibility services. We are at an important time since legislation, research and technology are joining forces to guarantee equal access to media. The social and personal inclusion rights should be equal across groups of disabilities, and that includes deaf TV consumers who are Sign Language Community members.

Endnotes

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2 http://signlangtv.org/

3 The following scale is used: small - less than 1/4 of the screen width; medium - between 1/4 and 1/3 of the screen width; large - more than 1/3 of the screen width.

4 http://www.acils.org

5 http://www.fesoca.org

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Authors' address
Marta Bosch-Baliarda, Pilar Orero, Olga Soler-Vilageliu
Edifici MRA 126 - Campus UAB
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
08193 Bellaterra
Barcelona, Catalonia
Spain (EU)

Marta.Bosch@uab.cat (institutional) / mboschbaliarda@gmail.com (corresponding)
Pilar.Orero@uab.cat
Olga.Soler@uab.cat

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Remote interpreting in public service settings: technology, perceptions and practice

Gloria Corpas Pastor and Mahmoud Gaber

Abstract

Remote interpretation technology is developing extremely fast, enabling affordable and instant access to interpreting services worldwide. This paper focuses on the subjective perceptions of public service interpreters about the psychological and physical impact of using remote interpreting, and the effects on their own performance. To this end, a survey study has been conducted by means of an on-line questionnaire. Both structured and unstructured questions have been used to tap into interpreters' view on technology, elicit information about perceived effects, and identify pitfalls and prospects.

Keywords: public service interpreters, remote interpreting, technology, subjective perception, stress, survey.

1. Introduction

With the advent of new technology, interpreters can work remotely, deliver interpreting in different modes (consecutive, simultaneous, liaison, etc.) and contexts (conferences, courts, hospitals, etc.), on many devices (phones, tablets, laptops, etc.), and even manage bookings and invoice clients with ease. But, unlike translation, interpreting as a human activity has resisted complete automation for various reasons, such as fear, unawareness, communication complexities, lack of tools tailored to interpreters' needs, etc. This is particularly so within public services settings, where interaction, non-verbal communication and language paralinguistic information (emotion, emphasis, prominence and prosody) are of paramount importance, and ethics and confidentiality issues are at stake. While fully automated interpretation does not seem to be an option for public services, there is still some room for computer-mediated interpreting and human language technology applied to assisting interpreting at all phases.

Following Braun (2015: 352), remote interpreting (RI) "refers to the use of communication technologies to gain access to an interpreter in another room, building, town, city or country". RI services can be delivered over the phone, by videoconference or through cloud-based systems (Amato 2017; Corpas Pastor 2018). Telephone interpreting is defined as a liaison interpreting mode carried out over the telephone (Andres and Falk 2009). Braun and Taylor (2012a) define videoconference interpreting as an interpreting mode used when the service provided is carried out between two places (e.g. court and prison) connected by videoconference, with the interpreter at one of the two locations. Currently, a wide range of technological solutions have been developed to satisfy the increasing demand for RI. Corpas Pastor (2018) presents a concise typology of such solutions that ranges from applications that can be installed on smartphones, PDAs, laptops to other types of cloud-based devices or platforms that can be easily accessed online. Boostlingo, Interprefy, KUDO, Olyusei,

WebSwitcher, Interactio, Webex, and ZipDx are some of the most used technological platforms in the market. These platforms have been designed to meet the needs of remote simultaneous interpreting (RSI), i.e. remote interpreting for conferences, seminars, workshops and other similar events.

RI is also closely associated with access to public services through community interpreters or public service interpreters, i.e., professional interpreters that specialise in the public sector (legal, health, education, government, and social services). This type of interpreting facilitates communication between people who cannot speak the official language(s) of a country (e.g. tourists, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, expatriates, etc.) and providers of public services in a variety of contexts in order to guarantee full and equal access to such services. In the words of Hale (2011: 343), public service interpreting (PSI) "is the type of interpreting that takes place between residents of a community. It is carried out in the context of the public services, where service users do not speak the majority language of the country".

Since the beginning of the 20th century, technology has increasingly gained a foothold in various settings of (PSI): healthcare, courts, police stations, refugee and asylum seeker centres, education institutions, etc. (cfr. Hornberger 1996; Braun 2006; Masland et al. 2010; Amato 2017; Valero 2018). New technologies introduced to facilitate remote interpreting have assisted in the elimination of language barriers between community service providers and minority language speakers whilst reducing costs and increasing the interpreters' availability (Mouzourakis 2006; Braun 2006; Andres and Falk 2009; Roziner and Shlesinger 2010). These new trends have contributed to meeting the increasing demand for public service interpreting and improving the cost-effectiveness of traditional on-site interpreting, whilst democratising access to such services that are often considered a legal and constitutional right. And yet, a pattern of rejection, fear and distrust can be seen among interpreters over a possible shift to remote interpretation (Donovan 2006).

This paper delves into the use of remote interpreting among public service interpreters and their views on how and to what extent this technology is impacting their daily work. To this end, a survey study has been conducted by means of an on-line questionnaire distributed to professional interpreters working in the public sector. The questions cover negative and positive aspects (e.g., stress, discomfort, productivity, motivation, etc.), as well as interpreters' general view on technology, identification of pitfalls and prospects. The remainder of the paper is organised as follows: Section 2 reviews previous surveys and market's studies that have dealt specifically with the remote modality. Sections 3-4 describe an observational, exploratory study that we have conducted with the aim of collecting information from professional interpreters who have worked at public services using remote interpreting. Section 4 includes the main findings of the survey and a discussion of our results. Finally, Section 5 concludes with a summary and a set of recommendations. To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first studies remote public service interpreting that takes into account different possible impacts, settings and modalities with a primary focus on tapping into interpreters' perceptions and optimising remote interpreting.

2. Previous surveys on remote interpreting practice

RI technology, and its psychological and physical effects on interpreters, has been the subject of reflection and academic debate. In what follows we will provide a brief overview of previous surveys conducted about interpreters' practice on remote settings. Related studies are clustered according to their focus or/and settings. First, general surveys on RI will be reviewed. Then, specific surveys on RI in the public sector will follow. When appropriate, interpreters' views will be dealt with separately from other interest groups, namely language service providers (mainly owners of interpreting companies) and clients/users.

The first studies about RI feasibility focused on conference interpreting carried out in high-level institutions. RI technology was initially limited to conference interpreting and it was essentially characterised by the isolation of the interpreters from the other communication parties: "In remote interpreting the conference participants are all in one location, while the team of interpreters is in another and watches and interprets the proceedings via video conferencing" (Andres and Falk 2009: 10).

More than four decades have passed since the first attempts were conducted to assess the feasibility of RI at UN institutional headquarters. In 1976, UNESCO led the first experiment during the Nairobi-Paris intergovernmental conference Symphonie Satellite, followed by the Buenos Aires-New York conference two years later. Since then, several RI assessment projects have been carried out: the Beaulieu Studio by the European Commission in 1995, the ISDN pilot study by the European Telecommunications Standards Institute in 1993, and other European Parliament studies carried out in 2000, 2001 and 2005. Moser-Mercer (2003) presents the results of the ITU study, a joint project between the International Telecommunication Union and the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting at the University of Geneva. The objectives of the ITU Project were to assess the feasibility and usage cost of RI during the International Telecommunication Union meetings as well as examine the impact of this interpreting modality on the quality of the service provided and how it would affect the interpreter. Participants were divided into two groups: a group of six interpreters rotating between on-site interpreting and RI and a reference group of six interpreters working on site only. The findings of the study show that RI produces more fatigue in the interpreter, negatively affecting the interpreting quality. Therefore, the study recommends guidelines to maintain a good quality interpreting in the remote mode: shorter interpreting shifts, analysis of the interpreters' visual needs during their work, and improvement of the technical assistance provided to the interpreters, etc.

Similar negative impact and views are reported by Mouzourakis (2006) in his review of several experiments on RI carried out at the United Nations and European Union institutions. The author concludes that the studies on remote simultaneous interpreting, conducted under various technical conditions, show a negative impact on both the physiological and psychological levels; interpreters who participated in such studies complained of physical problems when working remotely (eye irritation, neck and back pain, headaches, nausea), alongside other psychological or cognitive problems, such as loss of concentration, lack of motivation and feelings of alienation, among others.

Roziner and Shlesinger (2010) address the results of a large-scale empirical research carried out in 2004 by a multidisciplinary team recruited by the European Parliament's Directorate-General for Interpreting. The research focused on what the authors called "one-way simultaneous interpreting" at conferences or similar settings. The main objective behind the research was to assess the feasibility and implications of the use of RSI within the

European Parliament. This experiment involved 36 participants, all of whom were working as interpreters to the Parliament, either as in-house or freelance interpreters. Unlike the previous studies, the results obtained by Roziner and Schlesinger revealed little negative impacts of RSI on the interpreting quality and the professional performance of interpreters. These results also did not show significant alterations in the stress levels of the interpreters participating in the study. However, a significant psychological impact was recorded, as the interpreters reported a remarkable feeling of isolation and alienation when performing the interpretation remotely. Hence, the conclusions of the study advised, among other things, to rely on more technological support in order to minimise the negative effects of the use of RI and provide solutions tailored to interpreters' needs, individually computerised workstations and a user-friendly working environment.

Negative views on RI are also reported in a study by Baigorri-Jalón and Travieso Rodríguez (2017). The authors discuss results of a survey sent to three different United Nations duty stations (New York, Geneva, Vienna) at the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011. A semi-structured questionnaire was designed to enquiry into how external variables have altered UN interpreters' working conditions in recent years and how they have had an impact on the quality of their performance. A total of 32 full responses were received (out of over 200 potential respondents). The survey included some questions about RI, even though the use of RI at UN had been very limited so far. While interpreters show a negative view on RI, most negative perceptions are in fact related to on-site interpreting: "The dominant opinion among interpreters regarding remote is mostly negative. The default position is that remote poses all sorts of problems, which in situ does not, though most of the negative perceptions expressed by interpreters obviously refer to the latter." (Baigorri-Jalón and Travieso Rodríguez, 2017: 64-65).

In a different communication setting (in terms of speech duration, language regime, relay practice, etc.), Seeber et al. (2019) conducted a study that aimed at analysing the expectations and attitude of interpreters toward video remote conference interpreting during the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The methodology included the use of two questionnaires (before and after the event) plus a series of interviews during the event. 22 interpreters took part in the first survey, 21 of them were interviewed during the event and only 19 filled in the second questionnaire after the world cup. The findings of this study led to different results. The authors conclude that, although interpreters were initially apprehensive about using RI technology, and had rather negative views, after the experience they seemed to be generally satisfied with their own performance, so much so that they reported high psychological well-being. Moreover, they no longer perceived RI to be more stressful or to negatively affect their performance in comparison with on-site interpreting.

Although the technological development for RI was initially channelled towards simultaneous conference interpreting, these days the use of RI has broadened to include more remote modalities, such as simultaneous, consecutive or liaison, which is essentially the most commonly requested in public service settings. A number of survey-based studies has been conducted about the psychological and physical impacts of RI in public service interpreting. A relevant study is Saint-Louis et al (2003) on community interpreting in a healthcare setting. The authors focus on the evaluation of the most used interpreting modalities in healthcare settings. The project, funded by The Cambridge Health Alliance, USA, aimed to identify the advantages and disadvantages of four interpreting modalities (traditional/on-site, telephone, videoconference and remote simultaneous interpreting) that were being performed at Cambridge Hospital. The data were gathered through various collection methods (surveys,

interviews, electronic communications, etc.) from five groups involved in healthcare communication, with a total number of 44 participants (four managers, four doctors, three nurses, 28 patients and five interpreters). As regards remote services, the findings suggest that each mode of RI requires its own practice and specific knowledge. Although the traditional mode of on-site interpreting is still the preferred option, interpreters state that RI offers effective solutions in a healthcare setting. However, they point out that the use of remote interpreting via telephone or videoconference makes it difficult to understand and convey cultural aspects and non-verbal communication.

Other studies on PSI in judiciary institutions provided interesting data. According to Braun and Taylor (2012a, 2012b), RI has become a common practice in legal-judiciary settings, where the remote delivery of interpreting services (especially via videoconference) is conceived as a functional and practical technological solution to reduce costs and connect clients quickly and easily with qualified court interpreters, improving individuals' access to justice services. However, the authors also point out the controversy regarding some studies that dealt with the use of RI in such settings. They draw particular attention to a recurrent outcome – the discrepancy often observed between objective measures (such as interpreters' performance and reactions, stress levels, etc.) and individual perceptions of interpreters (i.e., the human factor). The authors state that such dysfunctions are also common in migration and similar settings. Against this background, Braun and Taylor (2012b) report the results of a survey of 166 legal interpreters, of whom 150 had done RI. In general, interpreters report greater levels of stress and fatigue in RI as opposed to on-site interpreting, but they provided a relatively positive assessment of their own performance.

The same ambivalence can be found in other survey-based studies. Devaux (2016) presents a survey which targeted three interpreters with work experience in PSI via videoconference. The respondents showed mixed feelings regarding remote interpreting via videoconference: on the one hand, the interpreters are aware of the RI advantages (such as cost reduction, more availability, etc.), but on the other hand, they admit that they may reject an assignment in the Administration of Justice precisely because of the difficulties (objective and subjective) that the remote mode entails.

In a similar vein, Albl-Mikasa and Eingrieber (2018) describe the initiative of Germany, Austria and Switzerland which aimed to facilitate PSI via videoconference in the wake of the refugee crisis. The authors present the findings of a survey conducted after the training courses given to interpreters as part of this initiative: 14 participants of a training course run in Germany, and 27 participants of three courses in Switzerland (41 total participants). The feedback provided by the surveyed interpreters showed both advantages and disadvantages about the use of RI. Some of the positive aspects relate to the advantages of working from home, saving time and money by not having to travel to the meeting venue. They cited technical and technological issues related to Internet connection, sound quality, service interruptions, etc., as the negative aspects. By and large, interpreters showed negative views on RI. However, the authors argue that good preparation, along with the training course the interpreters received on video-mediated interpreting (VMI) (or videoconference interpreting, VCI, in their terminology) had a very positive effect on the interpreters' perceptions regarding this kind of interpreting mode, whilst positively contributing to an increase in the degree of acceptance of VCI by both the interpreters and the users of the service.

The studies presented above represent interpreters' subjective perceptions of the impact of RI in their daily work. While the picture tends to be relatively negative, interpreters

also identify some benefits of delivering interpreting services remotely. But interpreters are not the only key players. Other stakeholders are client/users and language service providers (understood here as owners or managers of interpreting companies). One of the first market studies surveying RI was carried out by Veasyt (2018) across United Kingdom, Spain and Italy within the framework of the Shift Project1. This survey focused on the identification of the RI users' needs. It involved 270 clients/users and 262 interpreters and language service providers. In general, clients prefer RI for various reasons: immediate response, short interpreting services, confidentiality and safety issues, cost-effectiveness and greater availability of interpreters (especially in the case of languages of lesser diffusion). Over 50% of clients come from the public sector. As to the interpreters working in remote mode, 95% are freelancers and work for commercial business, health and social services, and, more rarely, in conference. 55% of the respondents prefer traditional on-site interpreting mode rather than phone-mediated (25%) or video-mediated interpreting (15%), the latter shows a higher growth potential than the other modes.

In a very recent study, Pielmeier and O'Mara (2020) report results from a large-scale survey of over 7,000 experienced translators and interpreters from all corners of the world that either work as freelancers or in-house at language service providers (LSPs) or buy-side companies. The authors do not indicate the exact number of interpreters participating in the survey. Out of the pool of interpreters who responded, 12% work in-person only and 1% work remotely only (telephone interpreting, videoconference interpreting and remote simultaneous interpreting, in descending order). A clear conclusion from this study is that most respondents prefer to interpret in person: 79% of them prefer in-person interpreting over remote modalities. An overwhelming percentage (74%) misses in-person interactions, among other reasons. However, remote interpreting has the advantage of increasing availability and productivity (64% claim that they can handle more assignments when they interpret remotely), and it is perceived as positively challenging.

Finally, the studies reviewed in this section show commonalities among interest groups. For instance, users/clients and interpreters both complain about the quality of the technical equipment and the discomfort experienced in this mode. Thus, the poor sound quality and technical problems of the equipment have been highlighted as a negative aspect. Moreover, having to use telephone or videoconference equipment was deemed rather an inconvenience, comparing to traditional on-site interpreting. Regarding the advantages of RI, the three groups highlighted the cost effectiveness and ease of access to such service. The interpreters appreciate the fact that they would not need to travel to the venue where the meeting will be taking place, which would then be reflected in time and expense savings, more availability and higher productivity. Interpreting service providers considered the great value obtained by RI technology which allowed them to offer a faster and more affordable service to their clients, i.e. fewer costs and more profits. Clients/users also mentioned the immediacy of this interpreting mode, together with the feeling of increased privacy and confidentiality when compared to on-site interpreting.

3. Survey design and data collection

Related work reviewed in Section 2 report various impacts of RI technology over interpreters. This set of prospective, recurrently identified effects, plus the alleged benefits or shortcomings already identified in the literature, have shaped the structure and aims of our study on the impact of RI technology on public service interpreters' perceptions and practice. The starting point of this research is a user survey on remote interpreting distributed among professional interpreters working in the public sector. This method of identification of user needs was chosen for two main reasons. First, our task consisted in covering a broad range of settings, interpreters' profiles and remote modalities. Secondly, the survey method allowed us to obtain and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data, which can contribute to validating or revisiting findings of other studies, answer previously formulated claims and research questions, as well as bring in new ideas from the participant's replies. In this respect, this paper is an observational study, mostly heuristic, since the survey we launched, although based on hypothesis derived from previous research (see Section 2), generates new opinions originating directly from the users.

The survey[2] was designed using LimeSurvey, an online questionnaire based on an e-building tool[3]. It contained 25 questions, of both structured (closed-ended) and unstructured (open-ended) types. Open-ended questions were been kept to a minimum and used mostly as sub-questions driven by critical responses to a given structured question. The survey was composed of separate sections, where the first section concerns the user profile, the second section includes questions on RI professional practice, and the rest of the sections are focused on specific aspects related to RI, such as psychological and physical impact of using remote technology to deliver the interpretation service, types of technologies used by public service interpreters, and a last open-ended question designed to collect comments and suggestions with an exploratory aim. As an essential step in the questionnaire design process, a pilot test was conducted, and the preliminary results were reported in Gaber and Corpas Pastor (2019).

The link to the online questionnaire was distributed through interpreting companies, accredited interpreters and freelancers, mailing lists and social media groups for interpreters, interpretation blogs and interpreter's associations. The distribution list included more than 30 target groups, apart from individual contacts. For lack of space, we will mention just a few, such as AIIC, Asetrad, AUSIT, NRPSI, CTTIC, APTIJ, CIOL, ATIO, among others. One of the challenges during this stage was to attract enough participants in order to obtain representative results. Most studies surveying interpreters specifically tend to receive very few responses, as seen in the studies presented in Section 2. Out of the 82 responses received, 42 were incomplete. With a total number of 56 questionnaires completed and returned by respondents, our study is the second largest, after Braun and Taylor's (2012b), with 150 remote interpreters. Compare the number of participants of other surveys discussed in Section 2: 41 (Albl-Mikasa and Eingrieger 2018), 36 (Rozinger and Schlesinger 2010), 32 (Baigorri-Jalón and Traviño-Rodríguez 2017), 22 (Seeber et al. 2019), 5 (Saint-Louis 2003)4, and 3 (Devaux 2006).

The data collection method also involves gathering the demographic profile of respondents (age, years of experience, working languages, geographical provenance, education, sex). These aspects are covered in the first part of the survey. A large proportion of respondents (50%) are experienced interpreters: 28 out of 56 have more than 10 years of experience, followed by interpreters with 1-5 years of experience (28.578%), 5-10 years (16.07%) and less than one year (5.36%). Responses by age situate respondents mainly

within the ranges of 45-54 (28.57%), 35-44 (25%) and 25-34 (23.21%), followed by interpreters aged 55 or more (14.29%). Only 4 respondents within 18 and 24 years old filled in the questionnaire (7.14%), while one respondent chose not to answer this question. Responses by gender show an (in)balanced ratio of 69.64%-30.36%, which shows a predominance of female interpreters in public services (39-17).

All respondents have received some training in translation and interpreting, and the number of those who have completed bachelor, master and doctoral degrees in the field is high (82.13%: 20, 20 and 6, respectively). Regarding specific training on remote interpreting, most respondents have enrolled in some courses, mostly on telephone interpreting (46%), video-mediated interpreting (12%) and remote simultaneous interpreting (10%), although 32% of respondents declare not having received any specific training on remote interpreting.

As regards their geographical provenance, responses were received from nine countries and four continents: Spain (34), UK (7), Canada (3), Germany (3), China (2), Greece (2), USA (2), Switzerland (2), Italy (2), and United Arab Emirates (1). The higher rate of responses from Spain was expected, as this study has been conducted by researchers of a Spanish University and distributed to all interpreters' associations in Spain.

Responses by active languages (interpreter to and from by PSI) provide over 16 languages, listed here in alphabetical order and followed by their corresponding percentage: Arabic (8.93%), Bulgarian (3.57%), Chinese (8.93%), Dutch (5.36%), English (83.93%), French (28.57%), German (7.14%), Greek (35.71%), Italian (16.07%), Lithuanian (1.79%), Polish (5.36%), Portuguese (1.79%), Romanian (10.71%), Russian (5.36%), Spanish (16.07%), Ukrainian (7.14%), other (19.64%). The number of passive languages (only interpreted from) also cover over 14 languages: Arabic (7.14%), Bulgarian (5.36%), Chinese (1.79%), Dutch (3.57%), English (48.21%), French (28.57%), Greek (28.57%), Italian (3.57%), Lithuanian (1.79%), Polish (1.79%), Portuguese (5.36%), Spanish (14.29%), Russian (14.29%), Ukrainian (7.14%), and other (14.29%). English, Greek, Spanish and Russian are the most frequent interpreted languages, although the high percentages for other languages is indicative of a larger number of active and passive languages interpreted in the public service sector.[5]

4. Survey results and discussion

This section summarises the main findings of our study, plus an explanation and our interpretation of the survey results. We will cover remote interpretation modes and public service settings (second part of the survey), as well interpreters' perceptions of the impact of the remote modality (third part of the survey) and their views on technologies in remote interpreting (fourth part of the survey).

When it comes to the remote modalities practiced by public sector interpreters, most respondents do telephone-mediated interpreting (TMI: 91.07%), followed at a distance by video-mediated interpreting (VMI: 35.71%) and remote simultaneous interpreting (RSI: 21.43%). See Figure 1.

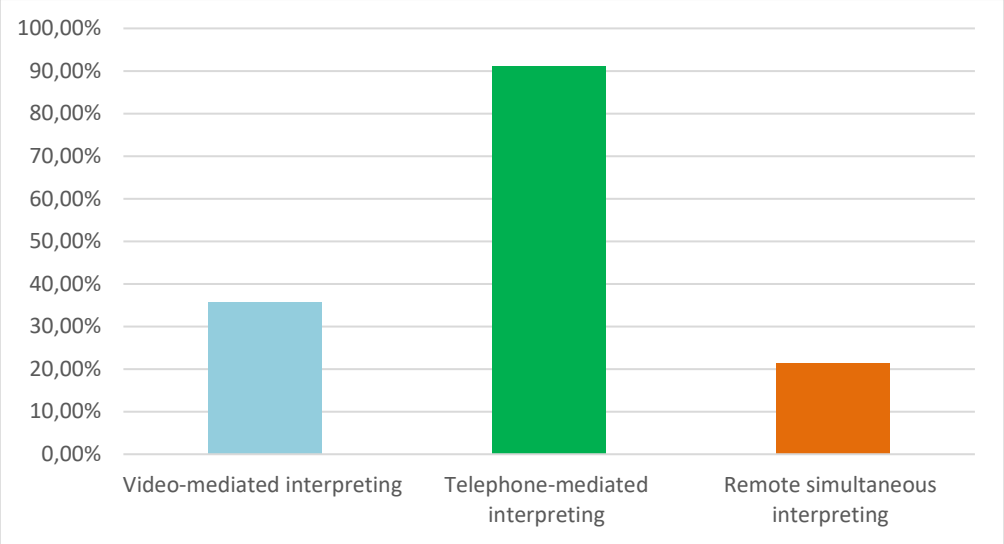

Figure 1 Remote interpretation modes practiced by public service interpreters.

The results in Figure 1 are corroborated by data on the frequency of use of the three modalities, as seen in Table 1. While TMI appears in top positions and VMI lies somewhat in the middle, 67.86% of interpreters admit they have never used RSI.

Frequency of use	TMI	VMI	RSI
1 Never used	8.93%	50.00%	67.86%
2	16.07%	28.57%	12.50%
3	12.50%	14.29%	8.93%
4	21.43%	3.57%	7.14%
5 Very frequently	41.07%	3.57%	3.57%

Table 1 Frequency of use of RI modalities

Concerning the settings in which remote interpretation is performed, the percentages, in descending order, are as follows (see Figure 2): healthcare (71.43%); social and administrative (64.29%); legal and judiciary (58.93%); police stations (53.57%); educational centres (37.50%); and others (21.43%). Multiple answers were allowed for this question.

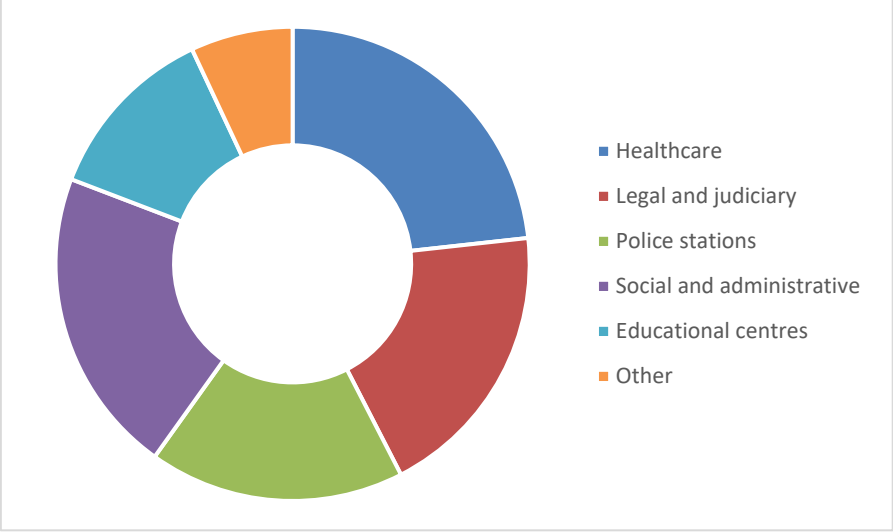

Figure 2 Public service settings within remote interpreting

The third part of the survey was devoted to ascertaining the interpreters' perceptions on the impact of the remote modality in their daily work, their views of technology used when delivering interpretations remotely, and ideas and suggestions for improvement. Questions were designed to dig in the perceived impact of using remote technology to deliver the interpretation service. Respondents were asked to complete the following statement: "The use of remote interpreting technology causes…" by means of a multiple-choice structured question, in which multiple answers were allowed. The list of items covered aspects of productivity and work conditions, emotional and physical states identified in the literature (both positive and negative), as well as the option to choose not having felt any impact or effect.

As Figure 3 shows, all positive options have a higher percentage than negative aspects, except for stress (37.84%). In general, public service interpreters seem to have a favourable attitude. The use of remote technology is perceived as a convenient means to increase interpreters' availability (51.85%), to make the delivery experience more comfortable (37.84%), and to boost their motivation (27.03%) and productivity (21.62%). On a negative note, stress singles out as the main disadvantage perceived by interpreters (37.84%), followed closely by discomfort (23.21%) and fatigue (21.43%). Other negative effects are mentioned, although the percentages are relatively low in comparison with the perceived benefits: feelings of isolation and alienation (16.07%), exhaustion (14.29%), poor concentration (10.71%), eye strain (7.14%) and nausea (1.79%). Only 3.57% of respondents did not feel any difference in delivering the interpretation remotely as compared to on-site.

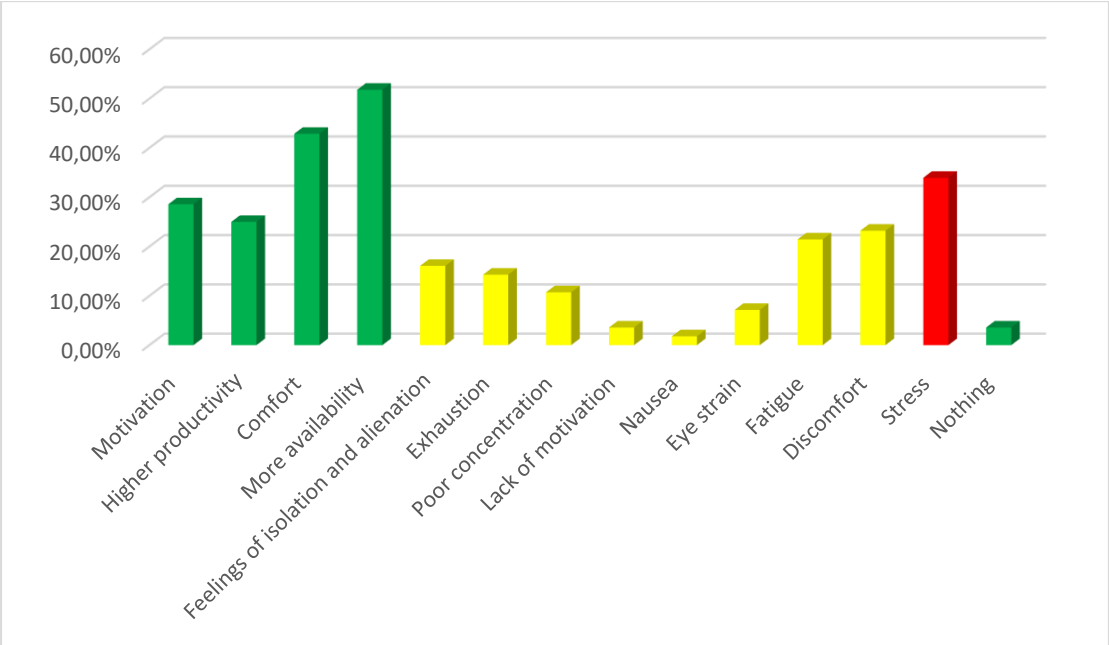

Figure 3 Public service interpreters' perceptions of the impact of remote technology

The effects listed above were identified from previous studies on the impact of RI technologies, as explained at the beginning of this section. The resulting list was by no means exhaustive. For this reason, another open-ended question was included in the questionnaire. We asked respondents to specify whether the use of remote interpreting technology had any other impact on them (psychological or physical, positive or negative).

Interestingly enough, most answers mentioned negative effects already listed before (stress, exhaustion, discomfort, eye strain, isolation), or new effects, related to a certain extent to the initial list: headache, discouragement, profit loss, insecurity, impotence, frustration, communication impairment due to distraction, displacement, lack of paralinguistic information, lack of a suitable partner, and technical or connection problems. Some positive effects were also mentioned, such as saving time and avoiding fatigue, experiencing a more comfortable work environment or boosting one's self-esteem. Costs reduction was also mentioned, but mainly in relation to companies and big organisations, not to interpreters themselves. In fact, it was mentioned that interpreters could get paid less if interpreting remotely and there were some concerns about pricing of remote platforms. Finally, one respondent insisted in not having experienced any kind of effect, and another one mentioned having perceived both a positive and a negative impact. Below is a selection of the feedback received, where Pn is the respondent's ID generated automatically by LimeSurvey:

P15: *A kind of insecurity in cases where body language is not visible (telephone interpreting*). (Translated by the authors).

P16: *Rather negative. [I] prefer to be in the same space with the clients*.

P41: *Sometimes discouragement, because they pay less for the service if it is over-the-phone (Canada).*

P44: *Feeling of time difference (a kind of jet lag). Lack of suitable team work (partner is not around). Headache (very low frequency). Eye strained (for looking at the screen all the time).*

P44: *Remote SI tires more the interpreters. The only benefits are for the public institutions on big savings. The low frequency humming damages the brain. Risk of system crash (no matter how great your equipment can be, the internet connection can crash due to weather). Personally, this RSI is very bad for the interpreters*.

P46: *In general, negative. I find it stressful and uncomfortable to hear badly (almost always), to have to ask again and again for what has already been said, to have to repeatedly ask the client to speak slowly and clearly, etc. When it comes to community services or similar, the headset is passed over (or not) without me being able to know exactly when that happens, when they stop talking, etc. And even worse, they are often stressful situations (drunk people, medicated patients who don't understand or don't answer clearly, destitute people who don't understand or show that they don't understand the questions asked) so, in general, my feeling, is it's like offering an interpreting service that is worse than mediocre. That feeling usually lasts for hours*. (Translated by the authors).

P51: *Impotence (in certain situations).*

P57: *Stress about the fact that my own home/office/environment is on show, because at times there might be noises at my end that I cannot do anything about (fire alarms, neighbours).*

P57: *Boosts my self-esteem to be able to provide services in the comfort of my own hours and home.*

P58: *In particular a video-mediated technology, creates additional communication barrier (the use of interpreting being a language barrier already), and therefore additional strain on the interpreter in producing a high level of service. Personally (especially having previous bad experiences in that area) I would only want to use this media for interpreting if the technical quality of both sound and vision are of a very high standard, i.e. causing minimal disturbance to the communication process. As widely known, from family Skype conversations and similar, the video call is most of the time a more difficult means of communication, when involving more than one person, compared for instance with the*

telephone call. Surprisingly, the presence of visual aid/screen poses additional distraction to the communication process and "dilutes" the focus of the meaningful conversation.
P59: *It is a useful tool providing everyone knows how to manage it and the technical resources are adequate so that the interpreter can focus on the interpreting task itself.*

Regarding the level of stress generated by each mode (see Table 1), responses indicate that the highest stress level felt by interpreters is particularly noticeable during VMI, more than TMI and RSI. However, the number of interpreters that declare not having experienced any stress when interpreting remotely is higher for TMI and VMI than for RSI.

Stress level perceived	TMI	VMI	RSI
1 No stress	32.14%	19.64%	14.29%
2	14.29%	8.93%	7.14%
3	14.29%	17.86%	14.29%
4	23.21%	10.71%	10.71%
5 Very high level of stress	8.93%	14.29%	8.93%

Table 2 Stress level perceived when using each RI modality

Figure 4 below shows a more detailed comparison of the average level of stress experienced in each modality:

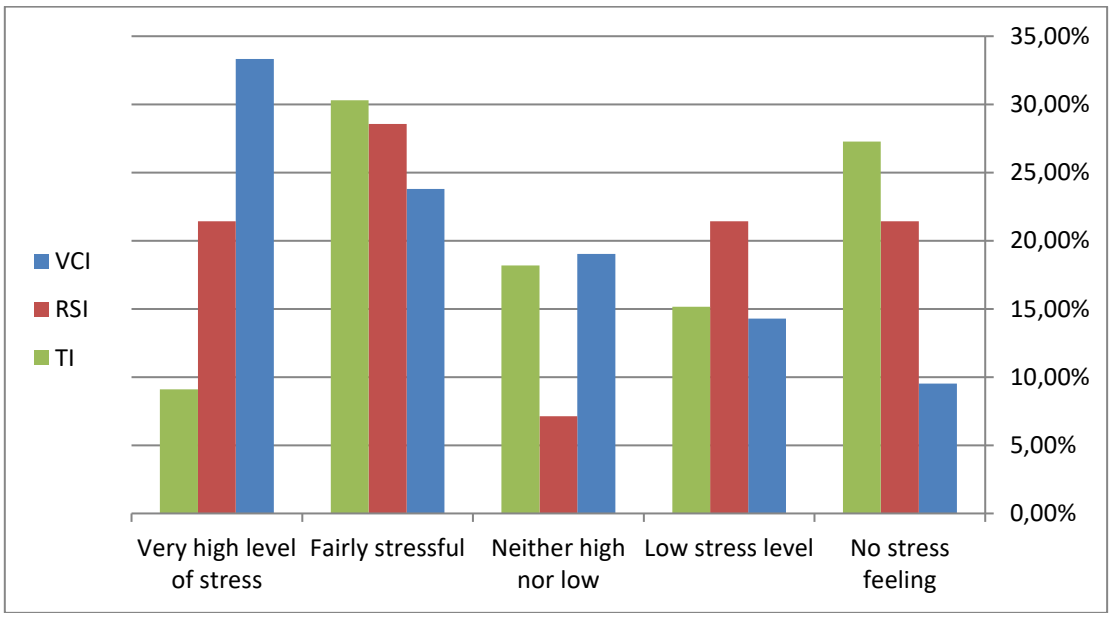

Figure 4 Perceived stress levels per remote modality

A Likert scale was used to tap into interpreters' opinions about the suitability of prior training on the modality of RI and the technologies used in order to avoid negative impacts. A majority of respondents deemed training as a valuable tool to overcome any negative side effects of using remote interpreting. The results percentages are as follows: strongly agree (37.50%); agree (19.22%); neither agree nor disagree (25%); disagree (10.71%); strongly disagree (7.14%). This can be expected since 68% of public service interpreters (68%) has had some formal training in the field (See Section 2).

The last part of the survey was directed at researching how public service interpreters relate to technology when working remotely, and their suggestions for improving the experience and/or optimising the technology. An unstructured question inquired into the type

of technological tools and resources used in remote interpreting at all phases (before, during and after a job assignment). Only two respondents provided comments differentiated by phases:

P15: *Before interpreting: I make use of online resources for documentation and preparation. During interpreting: I use a notepad and glossaries.* (Translated by the authors)

P82: *Before interpreting: I use the usual preparation tools. During interpreting: The client platform, terminology resources and some others. After interpreting: A computer to handle my bills.* (Translated by the authors).

Respondents tend to be equipped with a laptop or a desktop computer, notepads, tablets for note-taking, phone and headsets for telephone-mediated interpreting, mobile or smart phones, even recorders, and they usually have Internet connection. One respondent mentioned using the client's digital platform. As to their tools and resources, their choice was rather modest. One of the interpreters indicated time pressure as one possible reason:

P77: "*Most of assignments come with short notice, so there's no time for preparation. You have to solve everything out as you go along*".

Some interpreters still use pen and paper, and their own printed dictionaries. But the majority prefers online dictionaries and glossaries, online documentation resources, Word processors to check glossaries, online communication tools (e.g. Skype), and a browser window to check possible doubts they may have while delivering the service. Only one respondent admitted to using machine translation (Google Translate), and another one said to use mainly terminology management tools.

When asked specifically what platform, application or software they use for interpreting, many respondents did not provide information. There are several possible reasons for this: (i) unstructured questions do not include a convenient list of items to simply choose from, therefore, they could get less replies; (ii) respondents are unaware or do not tend to use specific software for remote interpreting other than phones, notepads, tables or laptops; (iii) there was a previous question on tools and resources, and respondents may have found this particular question on platforms, applications and software rather redundant. In any case, from the responses obtained, mobile phones (11) were the most frequently used, followed by Skype (4), Zoom (2) and Google Hangouts (2). Others were mentioned just once: Cisco Jabber, Wechat, Interprefy, Byvox, VoiceBoxer, Teams, Jitsi Meet and TeamViewer (which is not software for RI, but Remote Desktop- and Screen-Sharing Software). Of all of them, only Interprefy and SAVD are cloud-based platforms for RI (mainly SRI, but also VMI and TMI); ByVox is an online platform for VMI and TMI and VoiceBoxer is a multilingual web platform for presentations, videoconferences and webinars. Recently, the Zoom cloud platform has been optimised to include RI features. The rest are simply multi-purpose videotelephone and online chat services (via Internet or through a cloud-based software platform) that are used for teleconferencing, telecommuting, distance education and social relations, among other possible uses.

A second question about RI platforms, applications and software was intended to tap into respondent's opinions about these technology solutions. Multi-purpose videotelephone and online chat services were well evaluated as regards quality and usefulness, although respondents said they felt "distanced" from the client, unable to establish eye contact nor read speaker's body language, and complained about connectivity disruptions or computer requirements. Mobile phones are highly viewed by respondents as very suitable, safe and comfortable, although they also point out some shortcomings regarding connection, coverage and sound quality. Among the RI platforms, Interprefy is considered to be "quite effective

and state of the art" (P88), SAVD also is said to work very effectively, although "problems come up if the customers don't' use it the right way" (P12), VoiceBoxer is said to present connections problems and high equipment requirements, while Byvox does not receive very flattering comments: "It's not always the appropriate medium. It doesn't always provide a good sound. There's still a lot to improve" (P77). One of the interpreters commented on the positive technical developments of RI platforms tailored to interpreters' specific needs:

P71: *At the beginning, platforms did not offer any degree of comfort for interpreters because they have been designed by technicians without taking linguists' opinions on board; but then we were consulted, we participated and our opinions were used to improve the tools*. (Translated by the authors).

The last question of the survey was intended to gather respondents' suggestions and ideas to improve the use of RI technology in public services. Replies can be grouped around a number of key topics that could be seen to contribute to a less stressful and more comfortable experience: improving sound quality, creating better tools, ensuring good connectivity and coverage, incorporating image (cameras, video) for better communication (but also removing image in order to avoid communication impairment due to distraction), improving communication among interpreters' mates/partners while delivering the service, and training of both interpreters and clients (the latter should be instructed in using the technology and providing enough contextual information). Another interesting finding is the fact that respondents also see room for improvement in raising awareness about public service interpreters or using more professional interpreters for the public sector. No wonder that training, along with improving sound quality, are perhaps the most frequent suggestions to reduce stress and enhance the remote interpreting experience. A selection of relevant answers follows:

P41: *To introduce it [remote interpreting technology] as a module in training courses*.

P46: *Improvement is highly needed for the aspects I mentioned as stressful [like the sound of technical equipment, the coordination of turns between speakers, informing the user of how to use the service]*.

P59: *It would help if all users knew how to operate when video remote interpreting is being used, e.g. in a courtroom. Often it is awkward as other parties are not aware of interpreter's needs and leave no time to interpret everything, or the sound quality is poor and it makes it really hard to understand (this also apply to telephone interpreting, where absence of visual clues is also a compounding factor to the challenge).*

P60: *Clients need to introduce the setting. When I am accepting a call I have no idea where from that call originates: police custody or police officers responding to a report, hospital, surgery, council office - there is an element of uncertainty and surprise which could be avoided.*

P82: *Perhaps providing training to the non-interpreters that are going to use these technologies: make them aware of the challenges that interpreters face, so that they would be able to adapt themselves*. (Translated by the author).

P85: *The use of individual headsets with the client, if they use "hands-free" we're basically in trouble, especially if there are other people talking in the background*.

P87: *know-how related to technology - appropriate financing and training for officials - more awareness about professional interpretation.*

P96: *I think using reliable technology is key. As an interpreter I must be able to hear what the speakers say, to not have the line cut. Even better would be to use a video calling technology so that I can establish eye contact and read the speakers' body language.*

However, if such platforms or softwares work poorly, instead of helping with my interpreting tasks, they turn the interpreting session into a nightmare.
P98: *Remote interpreting should be taught within a "technology for interpreters" module in all universities teaching interpretation. Unfortunately, most interpreters are technology illiterates, having trouble or being reluctant to use even simple tools as Whatsapp for communication (it has happened, indeed).*

The findings of our survey corroborate results of previous studies, contradict others and provide new insights into the field. Public service interpreters working remotely report similar shortcomings as other professional interpreters using RI: (a) physical and psychological discomfort (cf. Andres and Falk 2009; Mouzourakis 2006), mainly the latter in the case of PSI; (b) cognitive overload due to fatigue and lack of non-verbal communication (cf. Mouzourakis 2006); (c) greater complexity of multiparty communication (cf. Saint-Louis et al. 2003; Braun 2015); and (d) noise and other technical issues (cf. Saint-Louis et al. 2003). Public service interpreters' demands of more context, as revealed in our survey, correspond to the complaints of LSP about needing to spend more time in briefing interpreters to provide them with more context (Saint-Louis et al. 2003). The same applies to the generalised complaint among clients about the lower service quality of RI due to technical problems (Saint-Louis et al. 2003) and the lack of non-verbal communication (Saint-Louis et al. 2003; Andres and Falk 2009; Masland et al. 2010; Braun 2006; Veasyt 2018).

The advantages reported in our study are mainly economic and business-like in nature. Our findings are also in line with previous studies in which interpreters (and LSP) stress the fact that interpreting remotely results in more availability of interpreters and interpreting services (Saint-Louis et al. 2003; Braun 2006; Mouzourakis 2006; Andres and Falk 2009; Veasyt 2018), as well as a means to reducing time and costs (Hornberger et al. 1996; Saint-Louis et al. 2003, Mouzourakis 2006; Masland et al. 2010; Tripepi Winteringham 2010; Braun and Taylor 2012; Veasyt, 2018). Cost reduction has always been important in business. Interpreters consider increased productivity a benefit of using RI (Mouzourakis 2006; Andres and Falk 2009). LSPs also list related aspects, like immediacy the requested language service (Saint-Louis et. al. 2003; Andres and Falk 2009), higher coverage for minority languages (Andres and Falk 2009; Braun and Taylor 2012), and increased speed and security in public service procedures (Braun and Taylor 2012). On their part, clients/users value the higher level of confidentiality and privacy provided by remote interpreting, besides easier and agile service access (Saint-Louis et al. 2003; Andres and Falk 2009; Masland et al. 2010).

Other results compatible with previous work are demographic data and remote modalities. The findings in our study indicate the predominance of female interpreters in the public sector. Our ratio (69.64%-30.36%) indicate an even higher gender (im)balance than the 60%-40% ratio reported by Baigorri-Jalón and Traviño-Rodríguez (2017) on UN conference interpreters working remotely. Responses by gender in our survey (39 women and 17 men) also confirm the feminisation trend within the profession in general (cf. Amato and Mead 2002), which seems to continue steady and strong. In addition, our findings corroborate the main remote modalities practiced by public service interpreters: mostly TMI, followed by VMI and SRI (cf. Veasyt 2018). Our data also coincide with Veasyt's (2018) market study in having the healthcare sector at the top. However, our studies differ as regards the other sectors. Veasyt (2018) only includes the social and administrative sector (second position after health), while our findings show the social and administrative sector in the fourth

position, after legal and judiciary and police stations, followed by educational centres and others.

A novel contribution of this study is the comparative approach to the perceived effects of remote modality by public service interpreters. Previous studies have focused on some effects only and/or they have not ranked identified effects in anyway. Our survey has included the effects mentioned in the literature and results have been ranked by frequency. Besides, our findings seem to suggest a different picture, as remote interpreting is viewed quite positively by public service interpreters in general. In descending order, the most valued benefits brough about by RI are more availability of interpreters to manage more jobs, in a more comfortable and productive working environment, which increases interpreters' motivation. Another factor to consider here is a plausible positive view of remote cultural mediation as a valuable strategy proving the quality of care of social services in a country. In any case, positive items outnumber any negative item, except for stress.

The central role of stress in almost all complaints about remote interpreting is a second contribution of our study. Perceived negative effects are mainly psychological in nature (stress, feelings of alienation, mental exhaustion, poor concentration and lack of motivation), but also physical, although most of them could also be considered somatic manifestations of anxiety and stress: e.g., discomfort, fatigue, eye strain, nausea. Our expanded list of perceived impacts and effects also include some more emotional- and stress-related negative symptoms (headache, discouragement, insecurity, impotence, frustration, distraction or displacement), as well as other issues more specifically related to how interpreters relate to technology, which can equally be considered stressors. Some common complaints are poor sound quality, connectivity failure, technical problems, on the one hand; and lack of context, lack of paralinguistic information, lack of suitable communication with partner interpreters and client's defective use of remote technology, on the other.

However, not all interpreters find RI modalities stressful in the same degree. For instance, a good number of respondents declared not feeling any stress when interpreting over the phone, followed in descending order by VMI and SRI. Related to this, another contribution of our study is the distinction of perceived stressed by remote modality, which situates VMI as the most stressful modality. This is a valid point when choosing what RI modality to use in the public sector. In light of the studies summarised in Section 2, TMI appears to be the most criticised interpreting mode. However, it could be a more optimal and effective solution than VMI, especially in the case of prompt consultations and short communications, as it normally involves lower levels of stress and enables interpreters to avoid all the technical adjustment issues: camera focusing, image quality, recording environment, and so on. Additionally, telephone interpreting provides utmost confidentiality and privacy (cf. Saint-Louis et al. 2003). As for RSI, which is perceived by public service interpreters as the most generalised stress-causing modality, its use seems less recommendable in the case of public services, where the interpreting settings differ from those of conference interpreting: in the latter the management of turn-taking follows an established and organised order and the communication is monologic, while in the former, the communication is dialogic, typically bidirectional and, as a rule, it is carried out in consecutive mode in both on-site and remote situations (cf. Wadensjö 1998).

A fourth contribution of this study is the involvement of public service interpreters in possible ways to optimise the technologies used for remote interpreting and how to improve the interpreting experience. Again, the solutions proposed have to do with (i) overcoming technical problems or failures that can disrupt communication and cause stress on

interpreters; or else (ii) with the training of interpreters so that they relate better with technology, which is in line with Albl-Mikasa and Eingrieber's (2018) and Kerreman et al. (2019). Finally, it should be noted in passing that public service interpreters working remotely also show a very low degree of tech-saviness (cf. Corpas Pastor 2018; Kerreman et al 2019).

5. Conclusion

In this paper we delve into the challenges posed by RI for public service interpreters. The survey findings helped us arrive at conclusions, from which we reformulated a set of recommendations. To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first studies conducted on public service interpreters that takes different remote settings and modalities into account, with a primary focus on ascertaining their needs and perceptions in order to optimise remote interpreting technologies.

Among the most relevant findings of our study is the public service interpreters' positive attitude about the remote modality. Each and every one of the positive aspects reaches a higher percentage than any of the negative aspects, except for stress. Higher degrees of comfort, interpreters' availability and increased productivity are among the most frequent consequences mentioned. Interpreters are aware of the advantages provided by usage of RI technology, but they are still concerned about some aspects that either affect the quality of interpreting or increase the stress on the interpreter. Many of the negative psychological or physical impacts identified by interpreters in our survey are related to stress or could be consider stressors. Interpreters' suggestions as to how improve remote interpreting seem to gravitate around possible ways to manage or control stress levels while interpreting remotely. Beside solving technical issues that may impair communication, public service interpreters request specific training on language technologies applied to interpretation (both onsite and remote). Training is envisaged mainly for interpreters in the public sector, but also to other participants in the communication (clients and even LSPs). In this respect, an interesting topic for further research would be to study whether interpreters' subjective perceptions (e.g., stress) are associated with objective indicators (e.g., heart rate variability, MRI scans, measurements through sensors, etc.).

As to the different RI modes, it should be considered the technical requirements of each interpreting mode and setting and the different degrees of stressed perceived by interpreters. TMI appears to be the most used mode in public services, even though it is the most questioned. While more public service interpreters feel relaxed and stress-free over the phone, TMI can turn into the most stressful one due to the lack of visual information and, consequently, the total absence of non-verbal language, among other reasons. And yet, TMI could be considered a more optimal and effective solution than VMI, especially in the case of prompt consultations and short communications. By contrast, TMI does not appear to be well suited for longer services or for meetings involving several people, complex or sensitive situations, as the lack of visual context in these situations may affect the communication flow, increase stress levels and compromise interpreters' performance. In this dialogic scenario, VMI could be a better option in the public sector, even though it is perceived as the remote modality that causes higher stress levels (possibly because of technical issues and

image control). RSI is less frequently used in public services, as evidenced by the number of practitioners (scarcely over 20%) and the limited choice of RSI platforms mentioned by respondents in the survey.

RI has become a reality that requires the adaptation of all the parties and tools involved: interpreters, users, service providers and technological equipment used. It would be necessary to go deeper into the preferences and perspectives of each of them, separately, and in relation to the different modalities, scenarios and settings. This would be especially timely in today's situation and in a future post-pandemic world, where displaced and remote multilingual communication will probably be in place.

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Notes:

[1] http://www.shiftinorality.eu.

[2] The questionnaire was distributed online via the following link: http://lexytrad.es/limesurvey/index.php/714764?lang=en. A Spanish version was also available for better coverage and distribution (http://lexytrad.es/limesurvey/index.php/714764?lang=es).

[3] https://www.limesurvey.org/.

[4] In this survey, only 5 out of 44 responses received came from interpreters. The rest were completed by other users' groups (doctors, patients, managers, etc.).

[5] Data for passive languages should be taken with caution, as some respondents may not have understood that this was a different question. For instance, the percentages for Lithuanian and Ukrainian, whether active or passive languages, are the same.

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Gloria Corpas Pastor
University of Malaga (Spain)
University of Wolverhampton (UK)
Department of Translation and Interpreting, University of Malaga, Faculty of Arts, Campus de Teatinos, 29071-Malaga, Spain
gcorpas@uma.es
ORCID: 0000-0001-6688-1531

Mahmoud Gaber
University of Malaga (Spain)
Department of Translation and Interpreting, University of Malaga, Faculty of Arts, Campus de Teatinos, 29071-Malaga, Spain
mahmoudgaber@uma.es
ORCID: 0000-0003-2849-8915

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An Empirical Investigation into Advantages and Disadvantages of Selected CAT Tools – a Freelance Perspective

Maja Manojlovic, Lucia Nacinovic Prskalo, Marija Brkic Bakaric

Abstract

This article gives an overview of advantages and disadvantages of computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, in particular translation memories (TMs) as their main component, and then makes a thorough comparison of two freely available online services. The services used are Google Translator Toolkit (GTT) and Smartcat. A case study is conducted in the field of Computer Science measuring translation time per word with respect to the number and size of additional resources used, and, at the same time, making the effects of the so-called human factors negligible. The services are evaluated from a freelance perspective based on a list of shared and distinctive features and a pairwise comparison of non-functional criteria is made.

Introduction

The advances in the field of information technology in combination with modern communication requirements facilitate the automation of translation processes. Globalization breaks cultural, economic and linguistic barriers and increases the need for communication and understanding. Immediate information availability makes us dependent on the computers and smart devices. Furthermore, new technologies offer more flexibility in trading various products and services. Not only that they are faster, more convenient, and simpler to use, but also more cost-effective. Not knowing a language is nowadays often equated to a limited information access (Delpech, 2014). On the other hand, a sense of affiliation and mother tongue cherishment clashes with the need to understand foreign cultures and people.

Different aspects of modern life brought about the need for more efficient translation methods (Craciunescu, Gerding-Salas, & Stringer-O'Keeffe, 2004). Translation as such became not only too time-consuming but also too expensive. High costs even led to having to settle with low quality translations. The development of information technology, if used up to its full potential, greatly increases productivity and quality. The translators have to acknowledge the benefits that technological developments bring and learn how to use up their potential without feeling threatened (Delpech, 2014). The ways in which the technological developments in translation driven by the two major technological innovations of CAT tools and machine translation (MT) have fundamentally changed communication is discussed in (Doherty, 2016). Despite unprecedented gains in terms of increased translator productivity and consistency, greater global language coverage, and greater support for improving international communication and distribution, the perceived and actual value of translation have changed, along with the awareness and uptake of translation technology and the status and visibility of the profession. CAT tools have changed the relationship between translators and texts. It is beyond a shadow of a doubt that these tools have enabled more flexibility and multidimensional approach to translation.

The core of a CAT tool is a translation memory (TM), a software program that stores translated texts along with their original source texts, so that these pairs can later be reused in full or in part. TM as a purpose-designed translation tool appeared way back in the digital

revolution of the 90s (Garcia, 2009). Second generation TMs apply the principle of translation memory to chunks rather than sentences (Planas, 2005). The author in (Grönroos, 2005) calls this concept of flexible segmenting translation intelligence. TMs are typically packaged with or integrated into additional software that allows translators to manage specialized terminology in a format similar to bilingual glossaries. Along with e-dictionaries, termbanks are nowadays an indispensable part of the translation profession. Dictionaries provide access to concepts, their definitions and translations and sometimes even context and examples of usage. They are useful for storing specific terminology, abbreviations and acronyms, and company related phrases such as slogans, titles, etc., as well as for listing non-translatables, such as personal names. If used with caution, all these resources ensure consistency and quality, and speed-up and simplify the translation process.

Although shared TMs have great potential for leveraging existing translation data, thus increasing productivity, they have been notorious for "sentence salad" (Bédard, 2000; cited in (Doherty, 2016)), "peep-hole translation" (Heyn, 1998), and "blind faith" (Bowker, 2005). The first is due to the over-recycling of sentences and parts thereof which may not suit the context and cohesion of the given text to be translated but are reused by translators nevertheless. This is evident also in (Bowker, 2005), where translators use a series of sentences inconsistent and non-parallel in terms of their style. The second is caused by focusing on text that only appears at the sentence level, while common linguistic devices of cohesion, such as anaphora and cataphora, typically function at the paragraph and document level. The last refers to the tendency to use TM matches non-critically. Moreover, although designed to make the translator's work easier, faster, and more efficient, and to reduce repetitive work, TMs do add different tasks to the workload, such as administering databases (Zerfass, 2002). The author in (Bowker, 2005) also warns about consistency issues when the translation memory is filled up with translations originating from different translators.

Due to the ever increasing availability of computing power, linguistic data, and the growing need for automation, MT began to emerge at the end of 20th century. Up to now, it has undergone two major paradigm shifts. From prescriptive, top-down, rule-based approach, whereby sets of linguistic rules were written manually by linguists and translators for each language pair, it shifted to descriptive, bottom-up, data-driven approach fueled by the availability of the human translation data contained in the TMs. The data-driven paradigm first appeared in the form of statistical MT and since recently in the form of neural MT (NMT). MT is nowadays integrated into majority of CAT tools. With the ever increasing availability of bilingual corpora, data-driven methods even started to be used as an evaluative framework for translation quality assessment (Bowker, 2001). Bilingual corpora can be used to justify and verify choices in the translation process and to assess the severity of translation errors. TMs usually have a bilingual concordance search functionality integrated. A change has been detected not only in the translation technology used to process linguistic data, but also in the overall translation project management systems, since common translation workflow nowadays includes complex projects, a large number of translators which have to be coordinated, either on-site or off-site, and a large number of languages (Doherty, 2016).

This work is motivated by the need for further empirical evidence of the effects that CAT tools have on productivity, as emphasized in (Doherty, 2016). Despite improvements in the quality of commercial MT systems, even the best contemporary MT systems produce errors that require some degree of human intervention, as witnessed in (Doherty, 2016). Moreover, its reliance on human translation data is becoming questionable. Not only that professional translators gradually became more reliant on the tools, but there is also an

explosion of amateur, volunteer translators making use of such tools for translating digital content into many languages and for many purposes (Doherty, 2016). The aim of the paper is to provide a comparison of two online services from a freelance perspective. Smartcat is much more complex and offers advanced functionality compared to Google Translator Toolkit (GTT). Therefore, our assumption is that Smartcat is superior and that its translations have shorter average translation time per word. A case study is conducted measuring translation speed with respect to the number and size of additional resources used. The translation speed is calculated as the ratio of the translation turnaround time and the number of source text words and expressed as the average number of seconds that processing each word takes. The comparison is based on translating Code Club materials for learning how to program. The source texts are selected carefully to illustrate some of the challenges that CAT tools nowadays face. We employ only one translator and one language direction. Since the translator is a double major student of Informatics and English Language and Literature, there is no concern of computer literacy affecting the translation performance. We ensure not only that our translator is familiar with all the involved technologies, but also that he or she has experience in the subject of the translation, and that the volumes of the translation projects are comparable. A pairwise comparison of shared and distinctive features and of non-functional criteria is presented.

The related work is given in the following section. The experimental evaluation of the tools used is given in section 3. The section is divided into subsections on the translator profile, translation tasks, the tools used, and the translation process description. It is followed by a discussion of the results presented and analysis of the features present in either or both of the tools. A short conclusion with directions for future work is given at the end of the paper.

Related work

Different tools available to translators at the beginning of 21st century are reviewed in (Champollion, 2003) and the level of assistance they offer is emphasized. An overview of basic features of TM systems is given in (Zerfass, 2002). The author admits that there is no "one best tool for everything", so the aim of the paper is not to recommend, but to provide guidelines for evaluating TMs with respect to individual requirements. The factors that affect TM use and an evaluation of the most commonly used systems according to functional and non-functional criteria can be found in (Lagoudaki, 2006). The authors in (Shuttleworth & Lagoudak, 2006) list text types ideal for TM use and different scenarios in which TM technology has a particularly clear application.

A time-limited pilot study that investigates the impact of TMs on both speed and quality is presented in (Bowker, 2005). The students are divided in three groups – those who do not use any TM, those who use the original TM and those who use the TM seeded with errors. A pilot study in (Yamada, 2011) investigates the impact of two different versions of a TM database – free vs. literal TMs. All participants translate the same source text but use different TMs. The results show that in the higher fuzzy-match categories, translators using the less literal TM did not gain as much speed as was the case when using a more literal TM. The aim of the research in (Baquero & Mitkov, 2017) is to emphasize one of the shortcomings of TMs which refers to failing to detect synonymous or paraphrased versions of sentences.

The development of TMs from pure to MT-assisted TMs, and, nowadays, to TM-assisted MT is nicely depicted in (Garcia, 2009). Most state-of-the-art CAT tools do allow automatic translation integration. Two ways in which TMs and MT can be combined are discussed in (Zaretskaya, Pastor, & Seghiri, 2015). One way is to include suggestions from an MT engine along with other suggestions. The other is to use both technologies together to enhance the output results and thus increase the productivity and reduce the post-editing effort. However, the authors warn that free publicly available engines do not always satisfy the quality requirements, which is even more true for specialized texts. Moreover, some customers restrict translators from using online MT services because of confidentiality issues. An overview of the MT post-editing research is analyzed in (Eisele, Federmann, & Hodson, 2009), with a focus on comparative advantage that a translator might gain from available toolkits over manual post-editing.

A three use cases of statistical MT are post-editing with the aim to predict whether MT is worth post-editing and to supply post-editors with efficient options; interactive MT with the aim to predict words before they are typed, and TM-MT integration with the aim to integrate TM matches with MT suggestions (Federico, Cattelan, & Trombetti, 2008). A field test is carried out with a commercial MT-assisted CAT tool on two language directions and two domains with 12 professional translators, whereas one translator is restricted to one language direction and one domain. Productivity is measured with post-editing speed and post-editing effort. Half of the documents are translated only by relying on TM matches, and the other half with both TM and MT, whereas maximum MT score is set to 85%. Relative time gains from switching from TM to TM+MT suggestion mode range from 4% to 54% with an average of 27%. An increase in productivity and quality when using MT output as opposed to processing fuzzy matches from TMs is resported also in (Guerberof, 2009). The author uses a supply chain software for the experiment with TM, MT and new segments which are approximately evenly distributed. The processing speed expressed in the number of words per minute is the greatest for MT, then for TM and, lastly, for new segments. The author also shows that faster translator take less advantage of the translation aids than do slower ones.

The productivity increase of statistical MT post-editing as compared to traditional translation for four language directions is evaluated in (Plitt & Masselot, 2010). The paper aims at overcoming specific limitations of other post-editing productivity tests, such as untypical translator profiles, artificial test sets, unreliable time measurements, etc. The QA team examines quality of the selected translations and post-editions, without knowing which is which. The authors report high variance across translators. The throughputs are increased from 20% to 131% and an average of 74%, i.e. MT saves 43% of the time. The benefits of MT also turn out to be greater for slower translators.

As far as GTT is concerned, the authors in (Eisele et al., 2009) believe that it did not succeed to reach the level of usability desired by its users, except for harvesting substantial corrections to the output, which is the bare purpose of its existence. A review of a number of translation tools from the perspective of translation post-editing, GTT being one of them, is presented in (Vieira & Specia, 2011). The authors selected and described toolkits according to a set of criteria, highlighting main differences and similarities between them and also making mention of desirable features that have not been satisfactorily presented by any of the toolkits analyzed.

Due to high variance across translators reported for example in (Federico et al., 2008; Plitt & Masselot, 2010), in this paper we employ only one translator and one language

direction. Moreover, since he or she is a double major student of Informatics and English Language and Literature, there is no concern that her computer literacy will affect her translation performance, as in (Yamada, 2011). We can assume that the student's translation skills are at "near professional" level since the student is an MA graduate of the English Language and Literature with one year of translation experience gained prior to graduation. In this paper MT suggestions are also provided just in addition to TM suggestions and the translator is left free to decide whether to translate segments from scratch or to post-edit the provided matches. The origin of each suggestion, TM or MT, is similarly to (Federico et al., 2008), shown to the user. The source texts are selected carefully to illustrate some of the challenges that CAT tools nowadays face (Doherty, 2016). We strive hard to make the effects of the so-called human factors negligible so we ensure that our translator is familiar with all involved technologies, that he or she has experience in the subject of the translation, and that the volumes of the translation projects are comparable (Kanavos, 2010).

Productivity analysis

Translator

The student who participated in this study is an MA graduate of the English Language and Literature and Informatics with one year of translation experience gained prior to graduation. The student previously completed a course in translation technology where he or she learned to use various both commercial and free CAT tools. We can assume that the student's translation skills are at "near professional" level. Since the student is at a double major study of Informatics and English Language and Literature, her computer literacy is extremely high.

Tasks

The source texts used for this research can be accessed at the Code Club website. They are chosen purposefully to illustrate some of the challenges that CAT tools have to face nowadays, such as domain-specific neologistic terminology, computer code, and different file formats, to name just a few extracted from (Doherty, 2016). Code Club is a world-wide network of clubs lead by volunteers whose goal is to introduce programming to children aged from 9 to 13. GTT is used for translating four documents on HTML and CSS for designing and editing web sites. Two of the documents are projects in pdf format which are first converted into doc format, i.e. „Happy birthday" and „Tell a story", and the other two serve as notes and the format used for notes is html. The projects contain challenges that children need to solve in order to get familiarized with HTML and CSS, while notes include explanations, the resources used, and goals and learning outcomes. The source texts translated by Smartcat cover programming in Scratch – two project converted to a doc format, i.e. „Ghostbusters", and „Space Junk", their respective notes in html, and one project in pdf format, i.e. Cats!". All the documents are in English and they are translated into Croatian, which is the translator's mother tongue.

Tools

GTT is an online text editor which enables editing and sharing translations. It was presented back in 2009. Although originally named Google Translation Center and imagined as a process management system, the Toolkit changed its name and became yet another translation tool (Google Translator Toolkit, 2018.). Google chose to implement a couple of the most important features of the available CAT tools. The user interface is as of 2017 available in multiple languages. Since MT is a basic part of GTT, it can be said that it is actually a TM-assisted MT system (Garcia, 2009).

Smartcat is an online platform aiming at translation agencies and organizations, freelancers (translators, editors and revisers), and localization departments within different companies. The tool was envisaged by the ABBYY company as a CAT tool to be used within translation agencies. Since 2016 it became an independent company. The tool offers three types of accounts: those for freelancers, for translation agencies, and for globalization companies. Besides a 5% fee charged at the end of each project, the service is free of charge.

Unlike with GTT, the functionality of quality assurance (QA), which ensures consistency between originals and translations, is integrated into the tool. For example, if the original sentence contains a full stop, using a comma will activate a warning and an exclamation mark in the orange triangle on the right side of the respective segment. Hovering a mouse over that warning sign or opening a QA check tab gives additional explanation. QA is concerned with spelling, punctuation, terminology, formatting, consistency with a TM, dates and numbers, etc. The precise configuration can be set manually, and crucial warnings can be differentiated from those that can be ignored. The latter affects the translation stage as the segment cannot be labelled as translated under the presence of a crucial warning, and, hence, the project cannot be finished.

Both services used have external integration of MT into CAT and implement real-time processing with MT suggestions as additional suggestions for each segment together with the suggestions from TM and other sources (Zaretskaya et al., 2015). That type of integration proves more efficient and better controlled according to (Kanavos, 2010).

Translation process

The translation pipeline is shown in Figure 1. We decide to measure only translation speed, i.e. post-editing speed in cases where MT suggestions are used, which is expressed in the average number of seconds per word. This indicator directly expresses the time labor required by the translators. The improvements on this indicator, therefore, directly relate to cost savings (Garcia, 2009). User experience is evaluated with a reflective essay. At this point of time we do not measure the translator's effort.

The difference between different parts of experiments is in the number and, hence, volume of the TMs and terminology used. Two project files are translated with GTT and another two with Smartcat without any existing resources. The two supporting files with notes are translated with GTT and the existing TM and glossary of the respective project and one supporting file with notes is translated with Smartcat and the existing TM and glossary of the respective project. Finally, since Smartcat supports simultaneous usage of multiple TMs, one project file is translated with the existing TMs and glossaries of the other two projects, while its supporting notes are translated with all four existing TMs and glossaries – three

project TMs and glossaries and one TM and glossary resulting from the translation of html file with notes.

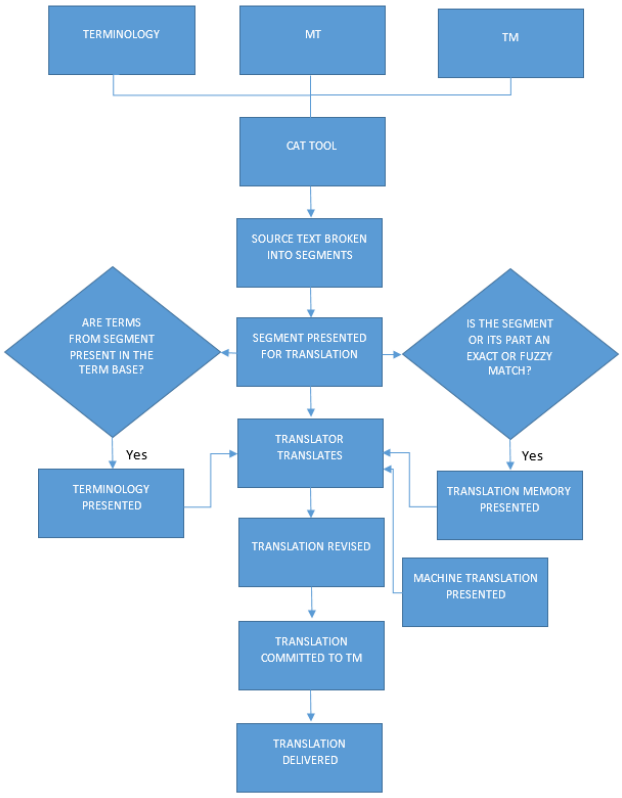

Figure 1 Translation process pipeline (adapted from (Reynolds, 2015))

GTT translation tasks

GTT is used for translating four documents on HTML and CSS for designing and editing web sites. Two of the documents in pdf format, i.e. „Happy birthday“ (HB hereafter) and „Tell a story“ (TS hereafter), are first converted into doc. HB notes (HB(n) hereafter) in html are uploaded from a computer and TS notes (TS(n) hereafter) are loaded via a hyperlink. The statistics is given in Table 1.

Translation of the two project files HB and TS made use only of internal TMs. Both files are converted into doc by an external service which results in translations that have almost five times more pages than their respective originals. Moreover, the resulting documents did not look like their originals with regard to formatting and figure display. Only sporadic figures could be read at all. Upon finishing translation, the projects show only around 75% completeness, probably because figures are not entirely processed by the tool. On the other hand, HTML files are suitable only for translating web pages, since the menus and all such components form an integral part of the original and thus require translation.

The ratio of exact matches for the notes right after upload is between 5 and 6%, while those of fuzzy matches is below 0.02%. The relationship between the translation time per word and machine translated words presented with GTT seems to be expressed by a moderate negative correlation (0.56) (Figure 1). The ratio between MT, TM and glossary matches after the translation task is completed is shown in Figure 2. The translation tasks are presented in a descending order sorted by translation time/word meaning that the translation of HB(n) took

the greatest amount of time per word followed by the translation of TS(n). As already explained, these are tasks which have resources of the respective projects at their disposal. Since the proportion of exact matches and MT content is around 40%, at least for the latter, it may be concluded that the nature of the notes is such that they are harder to translate. The relationship between the percentage of exact matches, fuzzy matches, MT content or terminology suggestions does not seem to exist.

Table 1. GTT text statistics

	Text				Average
	HB	TS	HB (n)	TS (n)	
# of words	1193	960	462	413	757
# of segments	137	112	74	71	98.5
# of figures	20	16	0	0	9
# of repeated words	289	287	11	11	80

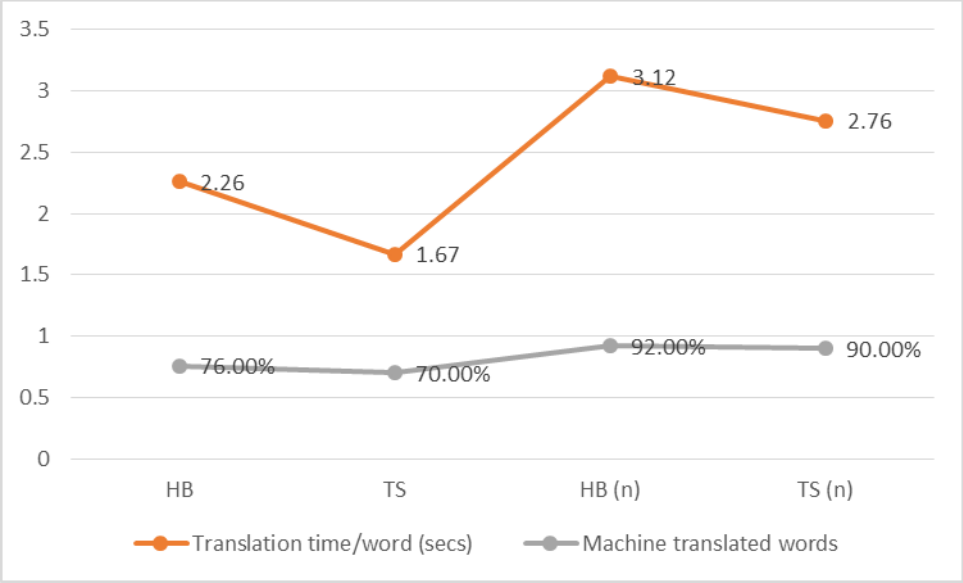

Figure 1. Translation time/word and machine-translated words at the outset of the process

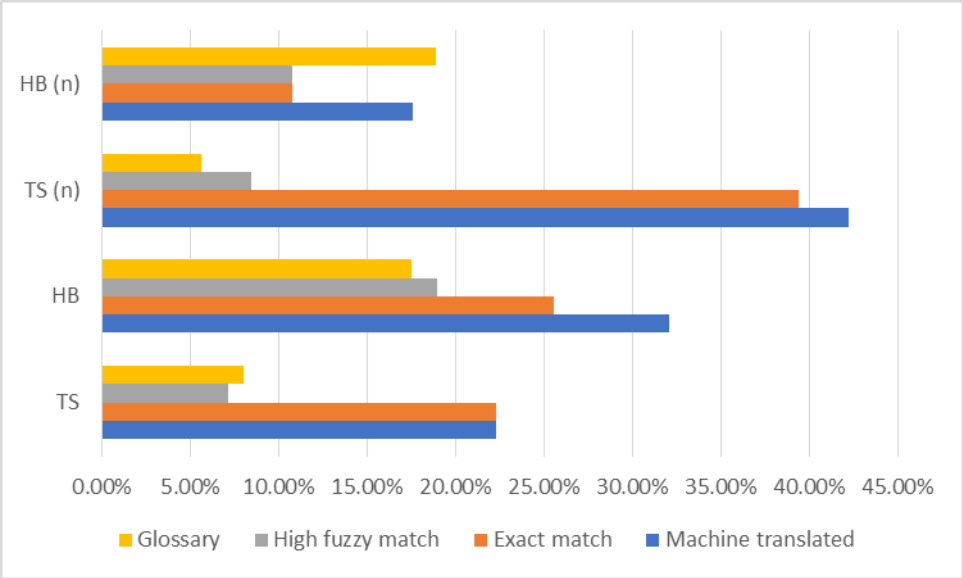

Figure 2. Matches in MT, TM and glossary in a descending translation time/word order

Smartcat translation tasks

Smartcat is used for translating five documents, one in pdf, two converted from pdf into doc, and two html documents. The statistics is given in Table 2. Although Smartcat supports pdf file format, pdf file import succeeded only once, i.e. for the project "Cats" (C hereafter). The other two project files, i.e. "Ghostbusters" (G hereafter) and "Space Junk" (SJ hereafter) in pdf are treated the same way as with GTT, they are first converted into doc and then imported into Smartcat. Unlike GTT, Smartcat extracts text from figures and includes it into the segment list provided that figures are of good quality. A new TM is created for each document, regardless whether an existing TM is used. The ratio between MT, TM and glossary matches after the translation task is completed is shown in Figure 3.

Table 2. Smartcat text statistics

	Text					Average
	G	C	SJ	G(n)	SJ(n)	
# of words	994	1671	1071	222	208	833.20
# of segments	149	296	153	41	42	136.20
# of figures	16	23	23	1	0	12.6

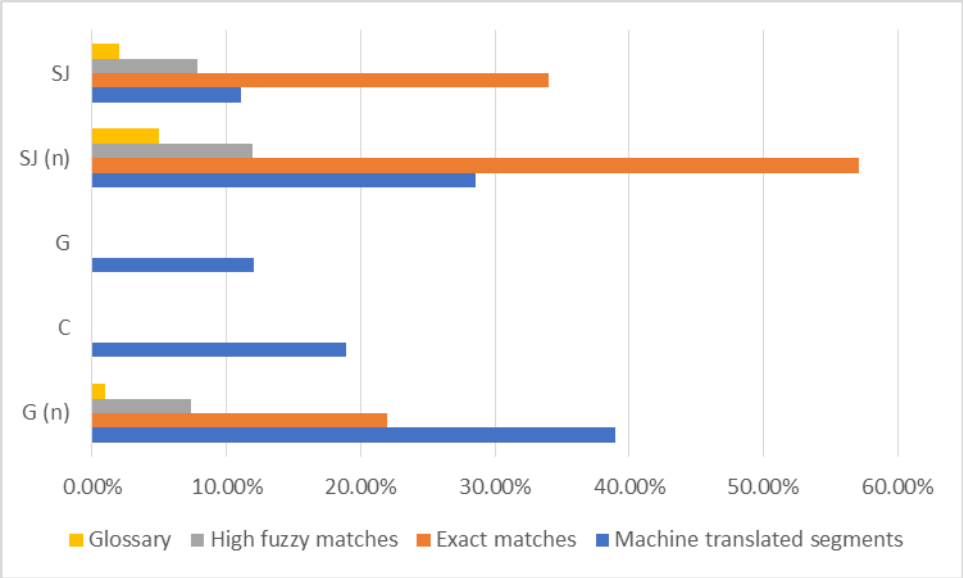

Figure 3. Matches in MT, TM and glossary in a descending translation time/word order

Under the default settings (Table 3), numbers and repeated segments which have already been confirmed are inserted automatically. Awkward segmentation and position of some segmented units can be detected due to pdf-to-doc conversion. For example, one segment contains „when this sprite clicke“, while the next contains only letter „d“. If the segments end up in separate paragraphs, it is not possible to join them. By clicking “Done” all the segments are stored and the project is marked as finished. The resulting translation can be downloaded as an independent doc file or as a bilingual doc file with four columns – ordinal number, original segment, translated segment, and the task which defines whether the segment was translated manually or with the help of a TM or MT.

Table 3. Used functionality per project

Functionality	Translation project				
	G	C	SJ	G (n)	SJ (n)
QA	default	default	Ignore identical segments & partially identical segments	Ignore identical segments & partially identical segments & Multiple	Ignore identical segments & partially identical segments & Multiple

				identical matches & mismatch between TM and target	identical matches & mismatch between TM and target
Existing TM	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Existing glossary	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Automatic pre-translation	No	No	No	Yes	Yes

The highest number of warnings is associated with the project C (Table 4), since this project is loaded into the system as a pdf file. This is also the project with the highest number of segments. A huge number of segments was completely nonsensical.

The settings for the project SJ included working with the two existing project TMs and glossaries, and customized QA options (Table 3), all with the aim to facilitate the translation process, speed it up, and make the final translation consistent with the first two project materials.

The notes of the project G (G(n) hereafter) are translated with the help of the respective project TM and glossary (Table 3). In this project, besides the settings from the previous project (warnings about the identical source and target and about partially coinciding source and target are turned off), automatic pre-translation is used with automatic insertion of dates, numbers, exact TM matches, and MT suggestions (Table 3). Since the project uses the exiting TM, and at the same time stores segments in a newly created TM, warnings about multiple identical matches occur (Table 4).

The notes of the project SJ (SJ(n) hereafter) are translated with the help of all four existing TMs and glossaries (Table 3). Warnings about multiple identical matches have been turned off, as well as warnings about mismatches between TMs and target. The pre-translation options are set as in G(n) (Table 3). Most of the warnings detected in this project were false warnings about misspellings (Table 4). A warning is issued also when a number is translated by a word instead of a number, which is a matter of style and target language convention. Repeated errors are weighted the same as new ones. Even when the translator adds a word to an MT suggestion, the translation is treated as an MT match. In one of the MT suggestions, translation into Russian is detected.

Table 4. Warnings per categories per project

Translation project	# of segments	# of errors per category								Total # of errors
		Tags	Terminology	TM	Dates and numbers	Punctuation	Spelling	Formatting	Other	Total
G	149	0	1	0	3	1	70	0	10	85
C	296	0	4	0	0	19	216	0	29	268
SJ	153	0	2	0	2	3	93	0	0	100
G (n)	41	0	0	41	0	15	33	0	0	89
SJ (n)	42	0	1	0	1	13	18	0	0	33
Total	681	0	8	41	6	51	430	0	39	

Discussion

There is a high correlation (0.89) at 1% level of significance between translation time and the number of words taking all nine translation tasks into consideration.

Using multiple resources did not prove to speed up the translation time per word. Of course, it might be dependent on the nature of the documents. However, TS, which uses no additional resources, turns out to have the best time per word. As far as Smartcat is concerned, only abundant MT suggestions in G (n) seem to bring advantage as far as the processing speed per words is concerned.

A comprehensive list of shared features is shown in Table 5 and a comprehensive list of free account features is contrasted in

Table **6**. Although Smartcat has more advanced functionality and features, e.g. pre-translation, QA, the possibility of using multiple TMs and dictionaries, bilingual document download, project statistics overview, etc., the simplicity of GTT is not always a disadvantage.

Table 5. A list of shared features

Feature
Supported file formats - doc/docx, txt, rtf, html, json, properties, strings, srt
Private and global or shared TMs and glossaries
Displaying segments
Comments to segments
Searching TM and glossary - source side
Formatting tags
Statistics display per document
Project progress display
Splitting and merging segments within the same paragraph
Working offline
Using internal repetitiveness
Exporting a TM

Table 6. A comprehensive list of features

Feature	GT	Smartcat
Interface simplicity	+	-
Interface attractiveness	-	+
Sharing files	+	-
File formats supported	-[1]	+[2]
	+	-

Unlimited file size	-[3]	+
Using multiple TMs	-	+
Turning off MT	-	+
Setting TM threshold	-	+
Searching TM and glossary - target side	-	+
Statistics download	-	+
Quality assurance (QA)	-	+
Setting deadline	-	+
Chat	-	+
Automated payment service	-	+
Tabular data support	-[4]	+
Inserting from a glossary	-	+

As far as QA is concerned, most of the warnings issued in Smartcat are related to falsely-detected spelling mistakes which can be attributed to incompleteness of the glossary that the spellchecker uses. Punctuation error warnings also occur often, especially when there is a hyperlink in the segment. These warning are also often groundless because full stops in hyperlinks do not have to be followed by a space.

One of the disadvantages of GTT is that the possibility of using multiple TMs is limited to downloading them to a local computer and then uploading them to s new TM. However, multiple tries of TM download kept resulting in an error. Another disadvantage is its user interface which is much less attractive compared to that of Smartcat. Furthermore, GTT inserts too many formatting tags which might confuse the translator and badly affect the readability of the segments to be translated. The format of the glossary that GTT supports is non-standard and restricted to csv, while that of Smartcat is either xlsx or xml. While GTT supports only tmx TM format, Smartcat additionally supports also sdltm and xlsx.

One of GTT advantages are superior MT suggestions which can often be simply confirmed without any need for editing. This can be attributed to the facts that TMs can be shared globally and that GT is used worldwide with the possibility of manually correcting MT text and providing feedback to Google. This gives Google access to sentence-aligned parallel corpora which is fed back into its MT engine and an improved engine is trained. Smartcat, on the other hand, offers high quality MT suggestions only for simple words and phrases. Smartcat uses Yandex MT engine and its free service also includes sending corrected translations to Yandex in order to improve it.

Neither of the two tools proved fit for processing doc format files converted from pdf. Smartcat presents some segments in a wrong order and does not successfully load figures containing the text. GTT completely messes up such documents and a ten page document turns out having forty pages. On the other hand, HTML source and target files look completely alike. It is interesting to note that although TM systems very often include the possibility of conducting alignment on existing sources and their translations, neither of the tools presented in this paper offers such functionality. This might indicate that aligning existing translations to make then suitable for recycling does not seem to be worth the effort.

A pairwise comparison of non-functional criteria presented in (Lagoudaki, 2006) speaks in favor of Smartcat. Although it might be scored lower in the learnability dimension, it scores higher in the reliability and usability dimensions.

Conclusion

Numerous tools which are constantly being updated are nowadays available to translators. This paper explores two of the tools of the same type but of quite different complexity. The evaluation is carried out in a real-life setting with one near professional translator. The paper gives a comprehensive list of shared and distinctive features. Since Smartcat has more advanced functionality, i.e. pre-translation, QA, multiple TMs and dictionaries, bilingual document download, project statistics overview, etc., and supports more file formats, an overall evaluation of the tools does confirm our initial assumption that it is superior to GTT. If the only aim is to obtain a fast translation, GTT might be the option of choice. However, user interface and rich functionality decide in favor of Smartcat.

The translation tasks presented in this paper did not manage to highlight advantages of additional resources in terms of translation speed, which is calculated as the ratio of the translation turnaround time and the number of source text words and expressed as the average number of seconds spent per each word. The source texts are selected carefully to illustrate some of the challenges that CAT tools nowadays face. Only one translator and one language direction are employed. In order to make the effects of the so-called human factors negligible, we ensure that our translator is familiar with all involved technologies, that he or she has experience in the subject of the translation, and that the volumes of the translation projects are comparable. The origin of each suggestion, TM or MT, is shown to the translator. The results indicate that the volume of the additional resources is obviously not being able to combat the overhead brought by reading and processing suggestions.

In our future work we might include more translators, TMs and glossaries greater in size, and add another indicator such as translation or post-editing effort. We might also differentiate between post-editing speed and translation speed in order to measure the relative time gain. However, such measurements should be followed up by quality checks as the notion of quality differs per each translator. It yet remains to be seen how different types of MT integration affect productivity. Last but not least, user satisfaction with different integration approaches needs to be evaluated.

Notes:

1 arb, aea, aes, sub

2 xls/xlsx, ppt/pptx, pps/ppsx, pot/potx, odt, odp, php, xhtml, xlf/xliff/sdlxliff/mqxliff/sdlxliff/po/ttx, pdf/mif/idml, dita xml, help + manual xml, xml, Android xml, resx, dtd, json, tjson, yml, imc, inx, mif, jpg/jpeg, tif/tiff, bmp, png, gif, djvu/djv, dcx, pcx, jp2, jpc, .jfif, jb2, ttx, sdlppx/sdlrpx, zip, wsxz
3 document max size 1 MB (exceptiom aea files 25 KB); TM max size 50 MB / 1 GB TMs per year; glossary max size 1 MB / 1 GB glossaries per year
4 tabular data is presented without appropriate spaces

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Maja Manojlovic
University of Rijeka
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Radmile Matejcic 2, Rijeka, Croatia
e-mail: mmanojlovic@ffri.hr

Lucia Nacinovic Prskalo
University of Rijeka
Department of Informatics
Radmile Matejcic 2, Rijeka, Croatia
e-mail: lnacinovic@uniri.hr

Marija Brkic Bakaric
University of Rijeka
Department of Informatics
Radmile Matejcic 2, Rijeka, Croatia
e-mail: mbrkic@uniri.hr

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Dealing with Pedophilia in *Family Guy*. A Translational Approach

Juan José Martínez Sierra
Universitat de València

Abstract
Family Guy is an American animated sitcom that tells us about the daily life of the Griffin family. This show displays a type of humor that, at some points, does seem to go beyond accepted limits or standards of behavior, while satirizing American culture. In this article, attention is paid to the use of a pedophile disorder – incarnated in the character of John Herbert – to generate humor. Our purpose is to provide an exploratory description of how a highly sensitive – even offensive – topic such as pedophilia is treated in this adult animation show and to reflect on how translation – English > European Spanish – might or might not affect the way that the said topic is presented in the two cultures involved. After considering the presence of pedophilia in the chapter "The Courtship of Stewie's Father," we cautiously conclude that no sign of (self)censorship is spotted and that both versions keep the same potential humor for an adult audience.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, taboo, (self)censorship, pedophilia, humor, Family Guy

Introduction

Family Guy is an American adult animated sitcom created by Seth MacFarlane, who is also the person behind similar shows such as *American Dad* (2005) and *The Cleveland Show* (2009) (a spin-off of the former). He has also written, directed, and starred in some feature films such as *Ted* (2012), *Ted 2* (2015), and *A Million Ways to Die in the West* (2014).

Family Guy tells us about the daily life of the Griffin family, and it is set in the imaginary city of Quahog (Rhode Island, USA). The series displays a type of humor that, at some points, does seem to go beyond accepted limits or standards of behavior, while satirizing American society. Thus, allusions to sex (including sexual intercourse between a dog and a woman), death (impersonated by the character of Grim Reaper), drug addiction and alcoholism (Peter Griffin is often inebriated), sickness and disabilities (Joe Swanson, a paraplegic police officer), religion (Jesus is a recurrent character in the show), scatology (gags involving vomit and flatulence are common) and others of the like are frequent. This article focuses on the character of John Herbert, an elderly neighbor of the Griffin family who is portrayed as a pedophile, although almost everybody seems to remain oblivious to this fact. He is especially fascinated by fifteen-year-old Chris Griffin, and we often witness his (unsuccessful) attempts to be intimate with the youngster. In the "The Courtship of Stewie's Father" episode[1], Herbert's wish becomes true in his imagination. He fantasizes about a family in which he and Chris are married and have two children. Different illustrative segments from the source version of the aforementioned episode, in which samples of this pedophile fascination are shown, will be identified. A comparison with the European Spanish dubbed version will follow. Our purpose is twofold: firstly, to provide a descriptive, yet exploratory[2] account of how a highly sensitive – even offensive – topic is dealt with in an adult animation product and, secondly, to reflect – and, hopefully, to foster future reflection –

on how that topic is presented to the two cultures involved (American, in the case of the source version, and Spanish, in the case of the target version), paying special attention to possible instances of censorship – if any – in the case of the Spanish dubbed version.

Some working terms will be defined first: pedophilia, ideology, and taboo. It is not our intention to offer an extensive account of these concepts but to set the scene for the discussion that follows. In turn, this discussion is aimed to be an initial point towards additional future reflections on the selected topic. After that, some details on the *Family Guy*'s characters involved in the examples shown will be given for contextualization purposes. Then, some examples will be considered to illustrate from a nonjudgmental perspective how some particularly sensitive content appears in the source version of the analyzed TV show and the Spanish dubbed version. Some final words will close this article.

Working terms: pedophilia, ideology, and taboo

As suggested above, *Family Guy* is a show that seeks to produce humor by pushing the limits of what seems to be accepted by the mainstream[3]. However, depending on viewers' different degrees of tolerance towards certain topics, the line between acceptance – and hence, enjoyment – and refusal can become thin. One person may argue that jokes involving passing gas or vomiting are funny, while another person could find them a sign of bad taste. Some people would agree that making fun of religion is acceptable, while others might find it unacceptable, even blasphemous. Nevertheless, what would happen when the object of a joke is a type of conduct that can be found not only morally condemnable but even legally punishable, at least in Western countries? We are referring to pedophilia (or paedophilia), "also called pedophilic disorder, in conventional usage, a psychosexual disorder, generally affecting adults, characterized by sexual interest in prepubescent children or attempts to engage in sexual acts with prepubescent children" (Britannica 2020: online). In both the USA and Spain, child pornography or sexual abuse is illegal and punishable by a fine or even imprisonment. In any case, Herbert would fit in this category of behavior, since he is an old man who is sexually attracted to young boys like Chris.

On the other hand, in general terms, in the field of audiovisual translation, ideology is usually restricted to the following four areas (Chaume 2012: 151-154):

- censorship, directly related to the institutional control of translation. Spheres such as politics, religion, sex, and physiological functions are especially sensitive to this practice. Political correctness may also be included under the ambit of censorship when, for instance, it seeks to conceal misnomers or taboo words. Indeed, censorship is certainly more notable under totalitarian regimes, but the truth is that not even the most democratic systems can evade censorship. The fact that the translator may censor himself/herself is equally remarkable and of particular relevance here
- standardization (normalization), an inevitable process in all languages since they would become chaotic without it. However, if we talk about linguistic censorship, we are now touching the subject of imposition
- gender-related matters, for example, sexist language
- patronage, deals with a concept introduced by Lefevere (1992: 15) to refer to "the powers […] that can further or hinder the reading, writing or rewriting of a literature"

As indicated above, aspects such as (self)censorship[4] will be of interest here, leaving other elements such as standardization, gender, and patronage for future research.

Finally, Allan and Burridge (2006: 11) state that "taboo refers to a proscription of behaviour for a specifiable community of one or more persons, at a specifiable time, in specifiable contexts."[5] Clearly, many of the topics dealt with in *Family Guy* may fall under the umbrella of *taboo*.

But before we move on to deal with those concepts concerning the said TV show, let us pay some attention to some of the different characters in it – the ones that appear in the examples provided – so that the reader is offered some contextualization.

Family Guy: Relevant Characters

Family Guy portrays the adventures and misfortunes of numerous groups of the inhabitants of Quahog, including the Griffins, their neighbors and friends, and some other more or less recurring characters. However, as explained above and for space limitations, we will briefly consider only those characters that have a line in the examples that have been chosen to illustrate our point and are, therefore, relevant for our purposes. The data that follow have been sourced from *The Family Guy Wiki* and *tvtropes* websites.

Peter Griffin is a man in his forties who loves watching TV, the rock band KISS, and the singer Barry Manilow. He is an immature, dim-witted, outspoken, and eccentric alcoholic. He is married to Lois, also in her forties, who was brought up in a wealthy family. She is a full-time-mother and teaches piano lessons to children, although she hides some dark aspects. Chris is their middle child. Like his father, he has a learning disability. He is introverted and relatively honest. He is also somehow prone to suffer emotional outbursts. Physically, he is overweight. The fourth character relevant to our purposes is Herbert, who was already depicted above.

Let us see some examples next.

Pedophilia in *Family Guy*: an illustration

(1) Chris is playing baseball, and by accident, he hits and breaks one of Herbert's windows. The old man visits the Griffins to report on that broken window.

00:06:19 (doorbell rings)	
LOUISE: Oh, hi, Herbert. What brings you here?	**LOUISE:** Hola, Herbert. ¿Qué te trae por aquí?
HERBERT: It seems your son's baseball broke one of my windows the other day.	**HERBERT:** Una de las **pelotitas** de su hijo me ha roto una ventana.
LOUISE: Oh, my God, I am so sorry. Chris, this is gonna come out of your allowance.	**LOUISE:** ¿De verdad? No sabe cuánto lo siento. Chris, esto va a salir de tu paga.
HERBERT: Perhaps we could work something out. I could use **a strapping young man** to do some chores around my house.	**HERBERT:** Podemos llegar a un acuerdo. No me vendría mal **un muchacho fornido** que me ayudara con algunas cosas.
PETER: That seems fair to me. Chris, you have damaged this man's property, and until you pay off the debt, **you'll do whatever job he wants you to do**. And at the end of the day, if you're exhausted and **your face is dripping wet**, well, that just means **you did a good job**.	**PETER:** A mí me parece bien. Chris, le has roto a este hombre una ventana y hasta que pagues la deuda harás **todo lo que él te pida**. Y si al final del día estás agotado y **empapado en sudor**, significará que has hecho **un buen trabajo**.
HERBERT: That sounds fine.	**HERBERT:** Me parece bien.
CHRIS: I don't want to spend my weekend doing	**CHRIS:** No quiero pasarme el fin de semana

chores.	trabajando.

In this first example, we would like to pay special attention to Peter's words. Let us not forget the context; the information that we already have about Herbert and his disorder – previous knowledge of the world also plays a role.[6] He does not refer to just a *boy*, but to a *strapping young man*, that is, a man who is tall, well-muscled, handsome… (notice the sexual innuendo here). The reality is that Chris is just the opposite. In any case, this meaning is kept in the dubbed version (*muchacho fornido*, Back Translation *a well-built young man*). Besides, curiously enough, in the dubbed version, we see the term *pelotillas* (BT *little balls*) instead of *baseball*. In Spanish, just as it happens in English, the term *pelotas* (BT *balls*) may refer to the testicles. Perhaps the translator was trying to compensate for certain losses, adding an extra sexual double meaning here. But possibly the most interesting aspect is found in Peter's lines, where we see a clear double meaning in his words. He talks about *getting your face dripping wet after doing a job*, which – apart from sweat – clearly may connect with the idea of doing a blow*job* and getting drips of the ejaculated semen over the face. These double meanings are somehow retained in the dubbed version. *Trabajo* (BT *job*) may refer to oral sex, although *empapado en sudor* (BT *soaked with sweat*) does not refer to the face specifically nor to semen. Still, in an attempt to reproduce the sexual insinuation, the expression *you'll do whatever job he wants you to do* has been translated as *harás todo lo que él te pida* (BT [you] will do anything he asks for). Note that, even though the personal pronoun *él* (BT *he*) could be omitted in Spanish (and would most likely be so in a merely referential message), it has been maintained, probably to emphasize the sexual reading.

(2) Here is a new example. Chris has started to help Herbert with some chores. The teenager is working in the old man's garden.

00:11:39	
HERBERT: Well, hello there, young man. I was starting to think you weren't coming.	**HERBERT:** Hola, jovencito. Empezaba a pensar que no vendrías.
CHRIS: Sorry I'm late, Mr. Herbert. Well, I guess I'll get started.	**CHRIS:** Siento llegar tarde, Sr. Herbert. Bueno, será mejor que empiece.
HERBERT: You know, if you get sweaty and want to **take your shirt off**, that'd be just fine. Or **tie it in a knot**. Your choice.	**HERBERT:** Oye, si sudas y quieres **quitarte la camisa**, puedes hacerlo. O **átatela con un nudo**, si quieres.

Herbert suggests that Chris take his shirt off if he gets all sweaty, or perhaps to tie it in a knot. We could wonder whether he is just considerate. Probably not, and what he expects is some sort of – for him – sexy view. In any case, the translated version is literal.

(3) A new example comes from the very end of the episode. Chris has finished working for Herbert, so he is wondering how he can spend his evenings from now on. Suddenly, the answer is given on television since a children's sports league is being broadcast.

00:25:31	
HERBERT: Well, Jesse, I guess we've got to find some other way to spend our evenings.	**HERBERT:** Bueno, Jesee. Vamos a tener que encontrar otra manera de pasar la tarde.
MAN (on TV): And now back to ESPN's exclusive coverage of the **Little League** World Series.	**MAN (on TV):** Y ahora continuamos con los partidos de la **liga infantil** de baseball.

HERBERT: Oh, **jackpot**!	**HERBERT:** Ajá, ¡**bingo**!

Herbert becomes excited (*jackpot!*) when he knows that some children's sport is being televised. Once again, given a literal translation, it seems safe to assume on this occasion that the implicit meaning can be achieved in the two versions.

However, an audiovisual text is a multimodal text.[7] Therefore, and simply put, information is carried via words, paralinguistic features, sounds, and images. So, let us consider those other elements beyond words.[8]

(4) In the following example, Chris just broke Herbert's window. The ball falls into the old man's living room. When he sees it, he says, "Well, looks like the Good Lord just sent me a conversation starter," and asks his dog to pick up the ball. Once the dog has done it, they both begin sighing with dreamy eyes. Apart from being glad to find *a conversation starter*, there is a clear paralinguistic element working here, implying excitement, desire…; in other words, Herbert looks forward to meeting the boy and who knows what comes to his mind in *romantic* terms. In the dubbed version, obviously, the dreamy eyes (image) are there, and this paralinguistic element has been kept, evidently not thanks to the translator, but the dubbing actor. This instance is a clear example of the importance of approaching dubbing as a process, in which different agents collaborate to generate the best result possible. See Figure 1 for a representation of how the different elements function in unison – see Chaume's (2004) discussion of the *signifying codes*. In this same vein, in Example 3, Herbert's face lights up with joy (visual element), and the tone of his voice (paralinguistic element) denotes enthusiasm when he says, "Oh, jackpot!"

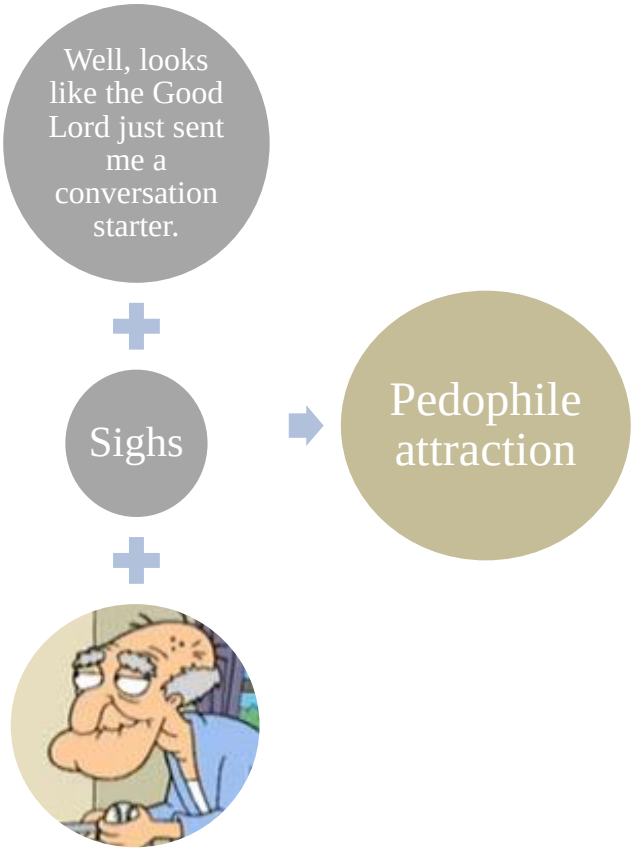

Figure 1 Representation of a multimodal text[9]

(5) In this next example, sounds, and especially images, are crucial since they activate an intertextual mechanism that gives Herbert's obsession a romantic air: a scene from the film, *Little Shop of Horrors* (Frank Oz 1986) where Audrie (Ellen Greene) sings *Somewhere that's green*. In that song, she fantasizes and shares her dream of marrying Seymour (Rick Moranis), leaving the town where they live, and moving to a nice house in a suburb to enjoy the middle-class luxuries together. In this fragment of the episode, Herbert invites Chris to dinner to thank him for his hard work. They have taken a souvenir picture together, and Herbert imagines that they are married and live happily in a nice house. Herbert takes the role of Audrie and sings the same romantic, cheesy song, just changing a few words – see Table 1. The whole original scene is reproduced – see Figure 2 –, with Herbert and Chris taking the role of Audrie and Seymour, respectively. Finally, we see that Herbert has fallen asleep and dreams of this – for him – dream life.

Original version	**Dubbed version**
He rakes and trims the grass / He loves to mow and weed / I cook like Betty Crocker / And I look like Donna Reed / There's plastic on the furniture / To keep it neat and clean / In the Pine-Sol scented air / Somewhere that's green / Between our frozen dinner / And our bedtime, nine-fifteen / We snuggle watching Lucy / On our big, enormous twelve-inch screen / I'm his December Bride / **He's Father**, he Knows Best / **Our** kids play Howdy Doody / As the sun sets in the west / A picture out of Better Homes and Gardens magazine / **Far from Skid Row** / **I dream we'll go** / Somewhere that's green.	He rakes and trims the grass / He loves to mow and weed / I cook like Betty Crocker / And I look like Donna Reed / There's plastic on my furniture / To keep it neat and clean / In the Pine-Sol scented air / Somewhere that's green / Between our frozen dinners / And our bedtime, nine-fifteen / We snuggle watching Lucy / On a big, enormous twelve-inch screen / And I'm his December bride / **Chris Griffin**, he knows best / **The** kids play Howdy Doody / As the sun sets in the west / A picture out of Better Homes and Gardens magazine / **Someday I know** / **We, too, will go** / Somewhere that's Green.

Table 1 Lyrics to Somewhere that's green

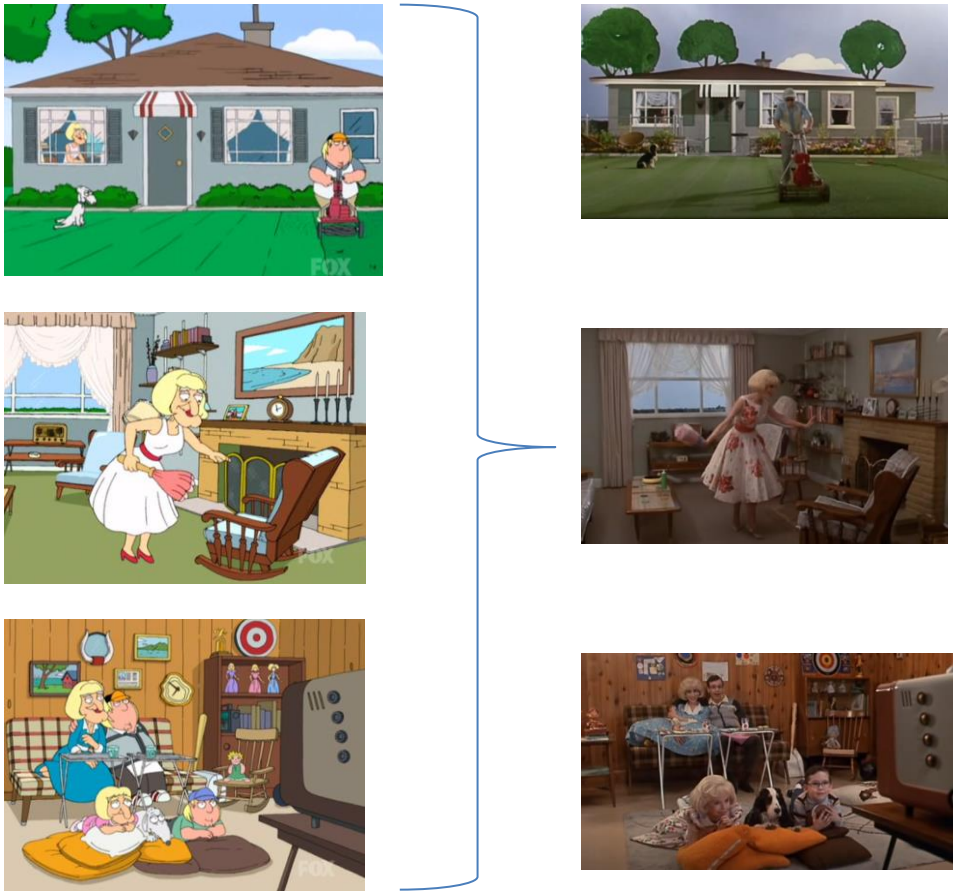

Figure 2 Audrie's and Herbert's fantasies[10]

This example is particularly thought-provoking since Herbert's attraction to Chris ceases to be portrayed as sexual and is depicted as romantic – a reception study would be of special interest here to report on the effect on the viewer of this change in the nature of Herbert's fascination towards the young boy. What was originally depicted as carnal is now reworked as romantic in an attempt, we believe, to push the situation to the limit. In the dubbed version of the episode, the lyrics to the song are not dubbed but subtitled, giving access to the viewer – along with the images and sounds – to the same scenario that the source viewer faces.

(6) We would like to offer one last example to show that, in this TV series, pedophilia references are not limited to Herbert's character. Peter and Stewie (his baby son) are at Disney World watching a Michael Jackson 3D film. The singer is dancing while the audience, wearing 3D viewing glasses, follows his performance. One child is sitting the first row in the audience and, fascinated by the alleged 3D effects, exclaims, "Wow, it looks like Michael Jackson is coming right at me!" At that point, the singer jumps out of the screen, takes the child in his arms, and runs away with him. Obviously, this allusion refers to Jackson's child molestation scandal.

Questions to be answered

As Toury indicates, there are two main sources to obtain information in a descriptive study: textual and extratextual (1995: 65). Even though our investigation is partially descriptive (since a thorough account of instances is not carried out), our wish was also to have access to some extratextual sources such as the translator who translated the episode that is being analyzed. However, we did contact her, but she refused to answer our questions. The list of queries to which we thought would be of interest to hear her voice were questions such as:

- In the case of humor, should there be a limit?
- How do you feel when you have to deal with a product that offers some content that might go beyond what the mainstream could consider acceptable?
- How do you proceed in a case like this one, when humor is made from a pedophilic disorder? Do you try to soften things or just reproduce it as it is? Is compensation a common technique in these cases?
- In this sort of potentially highly offensive material, do you make all decisions, or is there someone else who has a say in the process? If so, who (the dubbing studio, the TV channel…)?

We feel our approximation to the selected topic would have greatly benefited from the answers to those questions, since they would certainly shed light on several of the issues mentioned here, such as (self)censorship and patronage. Still, there is room for some conjectures to wrap up our discussion.

Final words

As has been shown, *Family Guy* is a TV program in which a certainly despicable, taboo conduct is used to generate humor. We may wonder if the limits of humor – if any – are crossed, but the truth is that this series enjoys a large viewing audience and has aired for over twenty years now. As per the audience demographics, IMDb (2020: online) reveals that the largest group is males from 30 to 44 years of age. A sociological study would help understand if that is one group predisposed, for whatever the reason, to enjoy this type of humor based on assorted taboo topics.

As mentioned in the introduction, our purpose was, on the one hand, to provide an exploratory description of how a highly sensitive – even offensive – topic such as pedophilia is treated in the adult animation show *Family Guy* and, on the other hand, to reflect on how translation might or might not affect in the way that topic is presented to the two cultures involved.

Even if not numerous and certainly not representative in statistical terms, the different examples provided are illustrative enough to portray how pedophilic disorder is handled in the selected sitcom. Evident moments of pedophilic behavior are easy to find in this TV series, especially in an episode where one of the subplots deals with Herbert's feelings towards Chris.

In this brief approach to this topic, the impression is that Herbert's character or idiosyncrasy is not softened or altered in the dubbed version. On the contrary, his attraction to

children is not mitigated whatsoever. The only modifications that we have found are due to the typical audiovisual translation restrictions, just as it could happen when dealing with any other topic.

As we said, the (taboo) topic of pedophilia is not toned down, nor does it show evidence of (self)censorship. This last aspect involves mere conjecture on our part. Let us not forget that dubbing is a process in which different agents collaborate (translators, dialogue writers, actors/actresses, directors…). Our wish was to have the translator give her opinion on this particular, delicate issue and how she handled it. However, as explained above, her contribution was not possible for reasons beyond our control.

We know that *Family Guy* is a show that is meant for an adult – mainly male – audience. Still, is it acceptable that they resort to all types of taboos – pedophilia in particular – to provoke humor? Is everything valid in humor production? Is there offensive humor or offended people? Furthermore, what should the translator do? Perhaps this paper poses more questions than it provides answers, but we feel it is worthy of proposing some food for thought even if for the sake of discussion. Of course, further research is needed since we aimed to open and explore more in-depth discussions on this topic.

Notes:

1 Even though the analyzed show was first aired in 2005, the topic and the character on which we focus are still relevant since they are present – to different degrees – in the following seasons of the series and the chosen episode is often rerun.

2 In the sense Hernández Sampieri *et al.* (2010: 91) define them: Exploratory studies are carried out when the objective is to examine a poorly studied topic or research problem, about which there are many doubts or has not been addressed before. Depending on the scope of the study, hypotheses may be absent.

3 In this sense, see the work of Pickering and Lockyer (2005).

4 We do not wish to elaborate on the issue of censorship. We will just recommend the reader some works that deal with this topic (some studies also with censorship and translation) such as Gubern (1981), Santoyo (1996), Rabadán (2000), Ballester (2001), and Suárez Menéndez (2016). For further information on ideology and translation, see, for example, Richart Marset (2012).

5 The concept of taboo has been addressed using an array of terms, such as emotionally charged language (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007), obscene speech or profane speech (Jay 1980), foul language or swearing (Wajnryb 2004), offensive and taboo language (Ávila-Cabrera 2014) or bad language (McEnery 2005). For practical reasons, in this article, we will stick to the label *taboo*. Taboo and all its related aspects have been addressed from assorted perspectives in many works such as not comprehensively, Sagarin (1968), Jay (1999 and 2009), Karjalainen (2002), Freud (2004), McEnery (2005), Allan and Burridge (2006), Hughes (2006), Chamizo Domínguez (2008), Marsden (2009), Calvo Shadid (2011), Fuentes-Luque (2015), Mancera Cestero (2015), Living (2017) and Hunter (2018). Similarly, the translation of taboo has also been the subject of numerous studies such as, again not extensively, Fernández Fernández (2009), Soler Pardo (2011), Fernández Huertas (2012), Ávila-Cabrera (2014 and 2016), Álvarez Dato (2016), Martínez Sierra (2016), Fethke (2017), Pérez Gómez (2017), Ávila-Cabrera and Rodríguez Arancón (2019), and Poyatos Cosano (2020).

6 See Sperber and Wilson (1986).

7 As Gambier (2006: 6) puts it, "[n]o text is, strictly speaking, monomodal. Traditional texts, hypertexts, screen texts combine different semiotic resources. Films and TV programs co-deploy gesture, gaze, movement, visual images, sound, colors, proxemics, oral and written language, and so on."

8 In an attempt to avoid Gambier's criticism that "[a]lthough many kinds of texts with different types of signs are dealt with in Translation Studies (AV, advertising, theatre, songs, comics), the focus tends to be limited to their linguistic features" (2006: 6-7).
9 Screenshot from *Family Guy*, "The Courtship of Stewie's Father (Seth MacFarlane 2005).
10 Screenshots from *Family Guy*, "The Courtship of Stewie's Father (Seth MacFarlane 2005) and *Little Shop of Horrors* (Frank Oz 1986).

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Juan José Martínez Sierra
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Universitat de València
Avda. Blasco Ibáñez, 32
46010 Valencia (Spain)
juan.j.martinez@uv.es

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"World in Vladimir Nabokov's Words." On Polish and Russian Translations of Wordplay in the Novel *Pnin*[1]

Olga Letka-Spychała

Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to identify procedures used for the rendition of wordplay in Vladimir Nabokov's Pnin (1957). A comparative analysis of Polish (Anna Kołyszko, 1987) and Russian (Sergey Ilyin, 1993) translations is carried out. The main focus is placed on the unreliable narrator's speech in which numerous examples of near-anagrams, near-homophones and agnominations may be found. In both translations, retaining near-anagrams and near-homophones appears to be the most challenging task. The reason for this are graphic and phonetic differences between the Polish and Russian language systems. However, they do not interfere with the re-creation of agnominations. Here, the translators achieve particularly fruitful results.

Introduction

Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977) was a novelist, critic, poet and translator; one of the most popular writers in the 20th century. He achieved world renown as the author of the controversial novel *Lolita* – a story about a middle-aged professor, Humbert Humbert, falling in love with a twelve-year-old, Dolores Haze. Nevertheless, his literary legacy encompasses a broad range of novels, novellas and short stories written in his native language, Russian (such as *Mary*; *King, Queen, Knave*; *The Luzhin Defence*; *The Eye*; *Glory*) as well as in English (such as *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*; *Bend Sinister*; *Lolita*; *Pnin*, *Pale Fire*).

Multifaceted analyses carried out by Russian, Polish and American researchers have gradually revealed unexplored areas of Nabokov's works.[2] However, this does not mean that in the writer's legacy there are no recurrent and prominent motifs. Among many themes present in the novels, Neill Cornwell (1999: 12) lists the recreation of lost love and childhood, memory, memories and knowledge. Vladimir A. Alexandrov (1991: 7) indicates the "otherworld" as a concept possessing metaphysical, aesthetical and ethical origins. In addition, the creation of art, immorality and timelessness are also viewed as hallmarks of Nabokov's books (such as, among many, *Transparent Things* and *Invitation to a Beheading*).

Although there are various approaches to the writer's legacy, most scholars emphasize the uniqueness of his masterpieces, and his inimitable individual narrative and aesthetic mode. Brown (1967: 281) labels Nabokov "a consummate master of style" who is capable of "more exquisite modulation, nuance, beauty and power than is any person who has written of his work" (1967: 281). As Cornwell (1999: 13) points out, Nabokov was aware of his linguistic abilities and took pride in "mastery of prose style in two languages" – Russian and English. It must be noted that he was one of the "white émigrés" whose exile began in 1917 after the Bolshevic Revolution. Nabokov then lived in Crimea (1917–1919), Eastern Europe (1919–1940), America (1940–1960) and Switzerland (1961–1977). From 1938, in his professional life, the process of "lingual transubstantiation" (Toker 1989) occurred. In order to gain an audience for his compositions he began to write exclusively in English. Bilingualism and biculturalism allowed him to disclose the infinite possibilities of language

and encouraged him to search for new, individual ways of expression. One of the most characteristic features of his style is wordplay.[3] Ralph Ciancio emphasizes (1977: 520) that Nabokov's interest in this literary device was not motivated by the humorous effect they provide. The writer was attracted by their "coincidental logic, which heightens the artificiality of language" (1977: 520). Their accumulation in literary texts "strains the sense to the bursting point" (1977: 520). If Nabokov claims that he "thinks in images" (Nabokov 1973: 12), wordplay in his writings was to perform a function of "mirror images" because they split the outlook on the world (1977: 520). Wordplay, being both a textual and linguistic phenomenon, constitutes a real challenge for translators who work with Nabokov's prose. Furthermore, such a literary device forces them to seek the most acceptable strategies which will guarantee a relative similarity to the original text and proper reception of the translated works.

Corpus and Objectives

Among Nabokov's literary texts in which wordplay serves a semantic, constitutional and aesthetic role, *Pnin* (1957) occupies a special place. This is because of the motif of emigration vividly reflected in the figure of the main hero – Timofey Pnin, "a Russian emigrant whom fate has left dangling in the alien English language" (Besemeres 2000: 390). His "linguistic identity" is built up by mispronunciations, slips of the tongue and errors in English syntax. Moreover, his utterances are "a witty simultaneous interpreting for Anglophone readers of the language of his enduring, earliest, and to that degree, innermost self" (Besemeres 2000: 396) In a sense Pnin's speech is the language in which "Nabokov himself continued to think, and in his intimate circles, to speak, be heard and be deeply understood" (2000: 396).

Secondly, this book attracted attention because of the narrator who is, as Besemeres (2000: 397) states, a "simulacrum of Nabokov, a kind of glittering snakeskin the author sloughs off by the end of the narrative". He shares with Nabokov not only a patronymic, a profession and an ironic undertone but also predilections for games. This may be noticed both in the narrative technique – in the last chapter his identity is revealed and readers learn that he is coming to Cremona to "usurp Pnin's precariously held professorship" (2000: 394) – and in the narrator's language, characterized by various types of puns which determine his style of communication and his worldview.

The main aim of this article is to explore procedures used for the rendition of wordplay in Polish (Anna Kołyszko) and Russian (Sergey Ilyin) translations of *Pnin*. The main focus will be placed on the narrator's speech in which the most numerous wordplays are near-anagrams, near-homophones and agnominations. For this reason, a comparative analysis of the three texts will be conducted. The investigation covers the following stages:

1. Specifying examples of wordplay from the original text.
2. Determining the most numerous types of puns.
3. Comparing puns in the original with their counterparts in Polish and Russian.
4. Identifying solutions and strategies applied in the translations.

It must be stressed that in Poland there is only one version of *Pnin*, initially published in 1987.[4] The first translation of *Pnin* which appeared in Russia was done by Gennady Barabtarlo (1949–2019) in collaboration with Nabokov's wife in 1989. The second translation was created by a writer and journalist Boris Nosik (1931–2015) in 1991. The most

recent version is by Sergey Ilyin (1945–2017), who translated it in 1987 for his wife. It must be stressed that this translation was not published until 1993 because of censorship and the conflict with Nabokov's son. I have chosen this version because of Ilyin's individual style, comprising both maximal faithfulness (*максимальная точность*) and stylistic perfection (*стилистическое совершенство*) (Yuzefovich: online).

Definition of wordplay

The notion *wordplay* has a long tradition; the concept has been in existence since antiquity. Initially, it was connected with Cicero, a Roman politician and lawyer (106 BC–43BC), and his study *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* where he introduces wordplay within the confines of a rhetorical notion – *traductio*: "[t]ransplacement (*traductio*) makes it possible for the same word to be frequently reintroduced, not only without offence to good taste, but even so as to render the style more elegant" (Cicero 1954: 279). According to Cicero, transplacement "refreshes" the words and bestows new meanings and linguistic contents upon them without interference in the style of an utterance.

Nowadays, wordplay is often described as a deliberate communicative strategy, the result of which is connected with producing a specific semantic or pragmatic effect. According to Delia Chiaro, wordplay is linked to humor, and thus she emphasizes that its main intention is to amuse and to provoke laughter. As she claims, this notion is very broad and comprises many conceits such as puns, spoonerisms, wisecracks and funny stories (Chiaro 1992: 4). This approach is shared by David Crystal who also treats wordplay as a specific literary device used for entertainment:

> We play with language when we manipulate it as a source of enjoyment, either for ourselves or for the benefit of others. I mean "manipulate" literally: we take some linguistic feature – such as a word, a phrase, a sentence, a part of a word, a group of sounds, a series of letters – and make it do things it does not normally do. We are, in effect, bending and breaking the rules of the language. And if someone were to ask why we do it, the answer is simply: for fun (1998: 1).

In other words, manipulating linguistic forms, creating innovative and unconventional forms in order to provide a humorous effect is the essence of wordplay. This claim is in line with Gideon Toury's understanding of this phenomenon. He determines its communicative aims which are focused on attracting attention to the utterance (understood as a piece of organized language), achieving functional syncretism and producing laughter (Toury 1997: 273).

Joel Sherzer (1978: 336) and Louis Heller (1974: 271) present different standpoints because they ignore the entertaining aspect of wordplay and mainly concentrate on the ambiguity of its particular components – lexical items or phrases. The former describes wordplay as a form of speech play which consists in an unexpected blend of dissimilar and irrelevant meanings. The latter comes to a similar conclusion and sees in wordplay a representation of an "entire class of different patterns" (1974: 271). These constructions preserve identical structural characteristics in which a particular "manifesting mark" conveys more than one conceptual meaning (1974: 272).

A multitude of senses and connotations are also stressed in Bistra Alexieva's cognitive interpretation of the pun. For her, puns relate to knowledge domains and human experience which both motivate certain associations (Alexieva 1997: 138). For this reason, she defines the pun as a universal feature of language:

> Punning is possible in any language insofar as it seems to be a universal feature of language to have words with more than one meaning (polysemy), different words with the same spelling or pronunciation (homographs and homophones), and words which are synonyms or near-synonyms while having different pragmatic meanings and evoking different associations. These features all exemplify the basic asymmetry between language and the extra-linguistic world it is used to denote: we cannot and do not expect languages to provide a separate sign for every single object or event in the extra-linguistic world. If a language capable of such one-to-one correspondence with the world existed, it would be an extremely unwieldy and inefficient instrument of communication, and an impossible one to learn in the first place. Therefore, language works with a relatively small repertory of signs (e.g. phonemes and words) that can however be combined in a multitude of ways to reflect the complexity of reality (Alexieva 1997: 138–139).

To put it another way, Alexieva argues that puns are inherent elements of language. Words possess "polysemic", "homographic" and "homophonic" qualities which lead to a discrepancy between their literal and figurative meanings. According to Alexieva, a separate word, considered in terms of a sign (semiotic approach), does not represent only one referent in the world. Language, thanks to its ability to create complex systems and relations between signs, describes reality without a one-to-one relation between a linguistic sign and a specific object, so one sign, for instance, *zamek* in Polish may refer to *a castle*, *a zip*, and *a lock*.

Wordplay is also a subject of interest of Polish and Russian researchers. Janusz Sławiński defines it in the framework of a similarity of sound between certain lexemes aimed at stressing their "meaningful multivalence, mutual strangeness or relation, analogy or contrast" (*Podręczny słownik terminów literackich* 2000: 169). This interpretation clearly demonstrates that wordplay is viewed as both a phonetic and semantic phenomenon. In this context Sergey Vlakhov and Sider Florin's insight into puns deserves special mention. They identify the pun with a play on inadequacy between an ordinary sound of words and their extraordinary meaning. These theorists classify lexical expressions, whole masterpieces and epigrams as puns (Vlakhov, Florin 1980: 287).

As can be noticed, many scholars have approached the concept of wordplay from different angles. For the purpose of this article I will refer to Dirk Delabatista's theory. To give a precise and exhaustive definition of wordplay we should take into consideration various criteria such as: formal structure, semantic structure, underlying linguistic mechanism, and textual function. All these aspects are included in Dirk Delabastita's interpretation of this phenomenon:

> Wordplay is the general name for the various *textual phenomena* in which structural features of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a communicatively significant confrontation of two (or more) linguistic structures with more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings (1996: 4).

Being a textual phenomenon means that wordplay is subject to the structural attribute of language creating the "tangle of potential ambiguities and associations" (Delabastita 1996: 8). Such multiple structures do not appear in a "normal" discourse because their effectiveness depends on a special textual environment (context) which "extracts" their associative power.

As Delabastita points out, puns "exist" in a close relation with a context. He distinguishes two types: verbal and situational. The first, verbal, is conditioned by expectations of "grammatical well-formedness" (expected syntactic location of certain word structures), thematic coherence and coherence of phrases (titles, collocations, proverbs). The second, situational, context comprises dialogue situations in multimedia texts when a visual image co-occurs with a verbal text. Puns serve many different functions within the text. They produce humour, force the reader to pay greater attention and add persuasive force to a statement (Delabastita 1996: 3–4).

In the above-mentioned definition, Delabastita also emphasizes the "communicative significance" of puns resulting from a "collision" of two different linguistic items and their meanings. The interpretative aspect allows us to differentiate "real" wordplay, understood as an intentional linguistic operation, from an ordinary and accidental ambiguity. According to Delabastita, puns are deliberate linguistic procedures; however, their proper identification in certain texts is sometimes difficult, if not impossible. Among such utterances he enumerates: oral texts (a non-verbal context weakens the sense of word boundaries and word identity); experimental texts (an accumulation of ambivalence makes it impossible to recognize and establish the wordplay); older texts (time and convention are the main factors deforming the wordplay) (Delabastita 1996: 5).

Puns are objects of interest in various disciplines: semiotics, semantics, pragmatics and cognitive poetics. This results in many definitions describing them in a narrow (Sławiński) and a wide (Delabastita) sense. Some researchers underline their aim to produce amusement, others elaborate on their function in depicting reality. Regardless of the different effects they produce, most scholars are unanimous in claiming that wordplay is mainly a textual element based on ambiguity. In this context Delabastita's approach seems to capture their essence in a more flexible way.

Classification of wordplay

There are many classifications of puns which take into account their different aspects (Sławiński 2000: 150; Leppihalme 1997: 8; Delabastita 1996: 8). However, the theoretical framework for this article will be the typology created by Jurgen Bodenstein, who provides it only for Nabokov's works.

Examining Vladimir Nabokov's texts, Bodenstein emphasizes the powerfulness of words that are, as he says, "harlequins playing a variety of roles simultaneously" (1977: 122). Sometimes they are "amusing buffoons" and "quick-witted clowns", another time they "behave" as "powerful magicians". Moreover, their nature has a penchant for playing with illusion and real life. Thus, the receiver is exposed to a multitude of interpretations of the reality that surrounds Nabokov's characters.

Bodenstein (1977: 130–156) categorizes puns in the writer's masterpieces into eleven "fixed" types:

1. **Palindromes** – words, sentences, verses, that can be read forward as well as backward, or in a reverse order with the same effects and meanings.

2. **Anagrams** – words or phrases made by a transposition or rearrangements of the letters of another word or phrase.
    - **exact anagrams –** a group of words that do not occur separately but in a sequence; they are created in order to stress their semantic relationship in the context.
    - **near anagrams and transpositions of letters** – a group of words which appear in close proximity to each other to display their morphological resemblance.
3. **Spoonerism** – initial vowels or consonants of two words are exchanged with each other.
4. **Deceptive constituents** – an isolation from the body of a word of elements which exist in the text as a separate word.
5. **Spacing** – dividing words into separate constituents.
6. **Agnomination** – the echoing of a sound of one word in another in a close relationship with it (as in the same sentence).
7. **Homonymy and polysemy**
    - **implicit homonymy and polysemy** – the ambiguity of the meaning of words is not verbally expressed but implied by the context or the situation.
    - **explicit homonymy and polysemy** – multiple meanings of a given word are foregrounded by the repetition of the same word in a different sense.
8. **Punning correspondence** – group of words in which two of them stand in a particular relationship resulting from their semantic or phonological correspondence.
9. **Etymological wordplay** – placing words in a correspondence which indicates their common etymological origins.
10. **Multilingual wordplay** – the display of a phonological resemblance between English and French or Russian words.
11. **Onomastics** – giving fictional characters names that describe their nature, appearance or behavior.

It must be stressed that this typology does not contain all types of wordplays which may be found in *Pnin*. For example, homophony (the linguistic phenomenon where words with different etymology have the same pronunciation) one of the most widespread puns in Nabokov's book is omitted. Due to this fact, in this article Bodenstein's classification will be complemented and some instances of homophones (next to anagrams and agnominations) will be analyzed.

General procedures for translating wordplay

Translation of wordplay touches upon a fundamental issue about its translatability and untranslatibility. Considering this question, Delabastita pays attention to the way we understand the process of translation:

> As is well known, theoretical as well as critical discussions of the translation of wordplay usually revolve round the question whether wordplay is "translatable" at all. Logically speaking this question makes sense only if one has in mind an implicit or

> explicit a priori definition of what "translation" or "a translation" is. Indeed, while no one will deny that wordplay in a source text is amenable to various forms of interlingual processing, the obstacle is usually that the kind of processes that wordplay will lend itself to cannot be reconciled with the scholar's preconceived criteria of what constitutes ("good" or "genuine") translation (1991: 146).

As he points out, wordplay involves some inter- and intralingual operations which do not correspond to the general norms of translation established by theoreticians because of the ambiguity that they produce.

Delabastita states that in a situation where wordplay does not play an important role in the ST it may be entirely omitted in order to avoid awkward formulations and expressions. However, in most cases puns constitute a meaningful element of the original texts. They serve many functions: create the poetics of a masterpiece, become a characteristic feature of a writer's idiolect or part of a hero's vernacular. Thus, translators are obliged to preserve wordplay in the TT. Undoubtedly, they should take into consideration not only its linguistic complexity and cultural and intertextual traits, but also its semantic structure. Delabastita (1996: 13–14) proposes several methods that can be applied in the process of translating wordplay.

1. **PUN ⇨ PUN**: a pun in the ST (language) is replaced with a pun in the TT (language). Such a procedure may introduce modifications either in the structural or semantic layer of wordplay.
2. **PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**: a pun is translated by means of non-punning phrases and expressions. Explicit and implicit meanings of the pun may be partially or entirely retained.
3. **PUN ⇨ RELATED RHETORICAL DEVICE**: a pun is substituted for a rhetorical device that is related to wordplay (such as alliteration, repetition, irony, paradox).
4. **PUN ⇨ ZERO**: omission of wordplay in the TT.
5. **PUN ST ⇨ PUN TT**: the ST pun and its "immediate environment" are transferred into the TT.
6. **NON-PUN ⇨ PUN**: the translator inserts a pun in a position where the ST has no wordplay. It is used to compensate for the loss of a pun elsewhere in the TT.
7. **ZERO ⇨ PUN**: introduction of a new pun which does not occur in the ST. It can be an unjustified procedure or may serve the function of a compensatory device.
8. **EDITORIAL TECHNIQUE**: explanatory footnotes, endnotes or comments in forewords.

Delabastita (1996: 14) emphasizes that not all these procedures have to occur in their "pure form"; in other words, they can be mixed depending on the ST as well as the source-pun characteristics. Despite various problems with rendering wordplay, he makes some observations about their reproducibility. He states that wordplays based on sound similarity are easier to transpose in historically related languages. To exemplify this he provides puns in Dutch and English:

(1) Dutch: Het belang van Ernst.
English: *The Importance of Being Earnest.
*the play by Oscar Wilde.

Obviously, translation into such languages also requires some structural transformations. However, the interference in the source-pun is rather mild and superficial in comparison with distant languages.

As opposed to phonetic puns, the translation of polysemous wordplay, regardless of membership of a language family, occasionally introduces fewer changes. Delabastita believes that this is mainly caused by the extralinguistic reality the polysemous pun is embedded in. As he states, the sentence "Diplomats will betray anything except their emotions" may be rendered in any language because it shows a common attitude towards representatives of foreign policy institutions. Interlingual borrowings exemplify other phenomena allowing for a higher degree of wordplay reproducibility. Being part of the pun, such elements are common to both the source and the target audience, as is shown in examples such as: TRANS SPORT (trans/sport+transport) and LARGO (large+cargo) (1996: 15).

Wor(l)dplay and their translations in Pnin

In *Pnin*, by depicting the eponymous character, situations and events, the language is a tool which serves the narrator to characterize the world externally. However, key words, tropes, and grammatical structures used in these descriptions also provide an insight into his own worldview. Analysis of *Pnin* confirms that wordplay, next to alliteration[5], is the dominant device in the narrator's speech. It determines his "playful" and puzzling nature and introduces an ambiguity which paradoxically does not always trigger laughter. Interestingly enough, the most numerous group consists of near-anagrams (35%), near-homophones (25%) and agnominations (20%). Other puns (onomastics – 7%, etymological – 4%, spacing – 3 % deceptive constituents – 3%, multilingual wordplay – 2%, homonymy – 1%) are represented by single examples or they are simply absent (punning correspondence – 0%, spoonerisms – 0%, palindromes – 0%).[6]

Generally speaking, wordplay in *Pnin* may be divided into those which are possible to recreate and those which are impossible to recreate. The terms *translatable* and *untranslatable* are intentionally not used here because in most cases the translators are able to preserve their "visible" senses, i.e. semantic information. This is achievable by a literal translation when the translator follows the ST only lexically. Unfortunately, this "flattens" the style of the original and consequently introduces changes into the narrator's worldview. As concerns the "invisible senses", they are hidden behind the form of the wordplay and are rarely revealed in the analysed translations. On the one hand, failure in recreating puns in the translations may be justified by differences between language systems which force the translators to seek other solutions in their native languages. Consequently they frequently have to make a decision whether to focus on the content or the form. Anagrams perfectly illustrate this dilemma since a faithful translation simply cannot be provided.

Near-Anagrams

In *Pnin* anagrams are not easy to detect because they are placed in phrases where one component is reflected in another only when the letters are rearranged. Also of interest is the fact that the majority of expressions with anagrams are metaphors, and this is an additional obstacle in the process of interpretation and deverbalization as is shown in Table 1:

No.	ST (1957)	TT in Polish (1993)	Procedures	TT in Russian (2012)	Procedure
a	rocket of an **asterisk, the flare of a "sic!"** (129).	bomba w postaci ostatniej kropki, błysk ostatniego „sic!" (131).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	звездчатая шутиха, воспламененное „sic!" (130).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**
b	**to entomb ten more** [languages] (7).	[pamięć] **była gotowa pogrzebać kolejnych dziesięć** [języków] (9).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	[память] и готова была **похоронить еще десять** [языков] (8).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**
c	The piquancy of these pinnacles and the merry, somewhat even **inebriated air** the mansion had of having been composed of several smaller Northern Villas (112).	Pikanteria wieżyczek i zabawny lub wręcz **podchmielony wygląd** rezydencji składającej się z kilku mniejszych „will północy… (114).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	**разгульный облик**, приобретенный особняком оттого, что его составляли несколько „северных вилл" поменьше, поднятых на воздух и каким-то образом сколоченных воедино (113).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**
d	they waited for some mysterious **deliverance to arrive** a throbbing boat from beyond the hopeless sea (99).	wypatrując **przybycia** tajemniczej ekipy ratunkowej w rozkołysanej szalupie od strony morza nie pozostawiającego nadziei (101).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	ожидая стука моторной лодки, в которой **явится за ними из** безнадежного моря их загадочный спаситель (100).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**

Table 1. Near-anagrams with a transposition of letters

The first passage about the final stage of Pnin's research very vividly sketches both the moment itself and the feelings accompanying it. Moreover, the narrator draws a parallel between an asterisk and a rocket. Probably the ground for this juxtaposition is the orientational metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP; EXCITEMENT IS UP, perfectly depicting Pnin's state. However, a visual resemblance between the objects can be also noticed because of the "starry shape" both of the asterisk and the single lights produced after the explosion.

The original expression "t^{3}he $fla^{1}r^{5}e^{4}$ of a $s^{2}i^{6}c^{7}$" mirrors the word "asterisk". In both translations this characteristic effect vanishes. Kołyszko domesticates the asterisk by replacing it with a full stop. This alludes to the popular Polish saying *postawić ostatnią kropkę nad i* which means to follow through. In English there is no such fixed phrase which might have served as the source for the narrator's metaphor. Kołyszko's text completely loses the original image. She not only "naturalizes" the text marker, but also chooses the counterpart *bomb* for the polysemous *rocket;* bomb, in comparison to the firework, evokes different associations. Fireworks allude to a celebration and rather positive emotions such as joy. A bomb refers to annihilation and despair. In her translation, a partial correspondence at the semantic level may be observed. With regard to the connotative level, completely different images are created. By contrast, in the Russian version this specific character disappears. What is more, Ilyin chooses a generalized equivalent *звездчатая шутиха* (a pinwheel of light) which is much closer to the original image. Firstly, he underlines its characteristic shape, and secondly approximates the image to the ST. A similar technique aimed at "compressing" the content is visible in the rendering of *a flare of a sic* as *воспламененное sic!*. Here, he "adjectivizes" the noun and attributes to it new properties "of being burned". In this case, Kołyszko also follows the original but retains the grammatical form of the word, although she has a tendency to supplement the narrator's utterances. In this short extract she does this twice by introducing *w postaci* (in the form of) when describing the asterisk and *ostatni* (the last) to underline that the *sic* will be the last word written in Pnin's research. The narrators in the original and in the translations conceptualize the original images differently, which is mainly visible in the modification of the source and target domains.

It must be stressed that transformation is not consistently used by the translators. There are examples where they faithfully reproduce metaphors. But even if they do so, they are not able to "save" the anagrams. This is shown when the narrator briefly characterizes the students attending Pnin's lectures. When he mentions Charles McBeth, he emphasizes his remarkable memory which *entombs ten more* (languages). Interestingly enough, as in the previous example, the word *entomb* may be produced from the phrase "$t^{3}e^{1}n^{2}$ $m^{5}o^{4}$re". However, this is noticeable on the graphical level only when the numbered letters are "reshuffled". If we try to do the same with phonetic symbols presenting how these words should be spoken, there will be a fundamental difference since the phrase *ten more* is pronounced as /tenmɔː/ whereas *entomb* as /ɪnˈtuːm/. When it comes to the metaphorical picture conveyed by this extract, the schemata of a FUNERAL immediately appears in readers' minds. Language is perceived by the narrator as a dead body interred in a grave or a tomb. Memory is cast as a performer of this action. In both TTs this metaphor and its elements do not change. In both versions dictionary equivalents are used: *pogrzebać* (to bury) and *похоронить*, respectively.

Another example (1c) in which the anagram is not preserved and an object is attributed with traits reserved for human beings may be found in the extract describing Cook's Castle – "a three-storey brick-and-timber mansion built around 1860 and partly

rebuilt half a century later" (Nabokov 1957: 77). The narrator calls this building *ugly* and highlights its *mongrel style*. Its "unassimilated roofs, half-hearted gables, cornices, rustic quoins, and other projections sticking out on all sides" (Nabokov 1957: 77) make the castle look bizarre to the narrator. This results in the activation of numerous associations, one of the most astonishing being a comparison of its unconventional look to having drunk too much alcohol. To express this juxtaposition, the narrator uses the phrase *inebriated air*. Again, after the transposition of certain letters from the word "inebr^{3}i^{2}a^{1}ted", the lexeme *air* may be arranged. It must be noticed that here the narrator is playing not only with the graphic representation but also with the sense of the word *air*. Except for its common meaning "the mixture of gases that surrounds the earth and that we breathe" (*CED*: online), it also refers to "manners and appearance" (*CED*: online). This "trick" is captured by the translators who reproduce the oddity of the mansion in their TTs. However, their characteristics vary one from another. Kołyszko selects the equivalent *podchmielony* which fully corresponds with the original. Ilyin interprets this fragment slightly differently and introduces a dissipated look (*разгульный облик*) that refers to a lifestyle of spending too much time enjoying physical pleasures and harmful activities such as drinking a lot of alcohol (*CED*: online). In a sense, this counterpart may be viewed as a hyperonym.

The translators do not always follow the original rigidly. In the group of anagrams there are also cases when the initial message is considerably changed in the TTs. This is shown in the last example (1d) in which Pnin dreams about escaping from the *chimerical palace* and waiting on shore with his dead friend for deliverance. This may be deciphered in terms of Pnin's getaway from Bolshevik Russia, and shows how devastating emigration is for him. Even after years of living in a foreign country, he cannot overcome this experience. Again, in portraying this situation the narrator plays with the readers because the letters in "deli^{3}v^{4}e^{5}r^{2}a^{1}nce" after their rearrangement form the word *arrive*. Unfortunately, the TTs do not achieve this "puzzle effect" and do not offer readers the pleasure of searching and solving. What is more, sometimes the translators' propose their own individual interpretation. For instance, in the Polish version the verb *wypatrywać* suggests that Pnin is impatiently awaiting rescue, whereas the original does not inform us about his state of mind. The second discrepancy concerns the way the translators elucidate the object which is awaited. In the ST a throbbing boat is mentioned so readers may only suspect who is coming to save Pnin and his friend. Nevertheless, the translators decide to name the object and in Kołyszko's variant it is *tajemnicza ekipa ratunkowa* (a mysterious rescue team), whereas Ilyin replaces it with a single rescuer.

Near-homophony

In *Pnin*, the narrator plays not only with the graphic elements, but also with both sound and meaning. It must be noted that the examples in Table 2 contain near-homophones which do not produce the exact phonic effect, although they give an illusion of similarity:

No.	**ST (1957)**	**TT in Polish (1993)**	**Procedures**	**TT in Russian (2012)**	**Procedures**
a	and said **hullo**	i powiedziała	**PUN ⇨**	и успела (…)	**PUN ⇨ NON-**

	(eyebrows up, eyes roaming), a **hollow** quiet greeted her (27).	**halo,** powitała ją **głucha cisza** (28).	**NON-PUN**	сказать **„алло”,** ее приветствовала **гулкая тишина** (26).	**PUN**
b	finding a shred of **sweet seaweed** (33).	znajdował strzęp **słodkiego glonu** (35).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	находя **лакомый кусочек водоросли** (34).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**
c	**dipped** his hand **deep** into the foam (157).	**zanurzył** rękę **głęboko** w pianie (158).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	**глубоко окунул** руку в пену (156).	**PUN ⇨ CONSONANCE**
d	He glued himself to its **eyelet** – and forthwith left, cured of whatever had **ailed** him. (62).	przywarł do **łezki w rękawiczce**, po czym opuścił poczekalnię, wyleczony z wszelkich **dolegliwości**, jakie mu przedtem **dokuczały** (161).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	Он приник к **круглой выемке в перчатке** и тотчас ушел, разом исцелившись от своего **неведомого недуга** (159).	**PUN ⇨ CONSONANCE**

Table 2. Near-homophones

In the first extract, a seemingly ordinary scene, in which Joan answers Pnin's telephone, is shown. Interestingly, it is not provided in the form of a dialogue between the interlocutors but it is quoted by the narrator who admits:

> Technically speaking, the narrator's art of integrating telephone conversations still lags far behind that of rendering dialogues conducted from room to room, or from window to window across some narrow blue alley in an ancient town with water so precious, and the misery of donkeys, and rugs for sale, and minarets, and foreigners and melons, and the vibrant morning echoes (Nabokov 1957: 27).

The narrator is aware of the poor quality of the rendered telephone conversations. Probably, he not only misrepresents their content but also distorts their form. If we take into consideration his unreliability and his nature of being a joker, we can assume that he does it on purpose. By juxtaposing the words *hullo* /həˈloʊ/ and *hollow* /ˈhɒləʊ/, he emphasizes the specific way in which Joan pronounces the greeting. Unfortunately, in the translations the phonic resemblance is not recreated. However, the translators do achieve an unexpected semantic result. They do not translate *hollow quiet* literally but replace it with idioms *głucha cisza* (deafening silence) in Polish and *гулкая тишина* in Russian. Using such fixed phrases in the TTs even better conveys the linguistic behaviours of the two language users – a strong-

minded American woman and a migrant, whose lack of immediate response confirms that he is not as confident when speaking a foreign language as when using his mother tongue.

Keeping to the subject of a tongue, but in its "anatomical" sense, we may turn to example (2b). Pnin's experiences after receiving a dental prosthesis have been analysed in the previous section devoted to alliteration. Linguistically, apart from these and onomatopoeic expressions which imitate sounds produced by a tongue, there are also the homophones *sweet* /swiːt/ and *seaweed* /ˈsiːˌwiːd/. It must be remembered that the narrator is comparing Pnin's tongue to *a fat, slide seal* and conceptualizes his mouth as an ocean where rocks, coves, and sea plants can be found. The translations describe the same elements and follow the general sense. Kołyszko renders the lexemes literally as *słodki glon*; Ilyin conveys the expression as *лакомый кусочек водоросли* (tasty shred of seaweed). In both cases minor shifts in meaning of certain lexical units may be noted. The Polish translator takes advantage of a specific type of seaweed – algae, considered as its hyponym. Instead of the adjective *sweet*, the Russian translator chooses the word *tasty* which does not determine the exact flavour. In the ST, the narrator exhibits his synaesthetic abilities which, by the way, he shares with Nabokov. He successfully unifies the sound (made by the tongue), vision (seaweed evokes associations with the colour green) and taste (sweetness). Even though the last two sensual impressions are successfully conveyed in the TTs, the phonetic impressions still remain neglected. This causes not only a loss of the musicality and homophonic qualities, but also leads to changes in the linguistic construction of the narrator's personality.

A perfect illustration of depriving him of traits such as wit and brilliance is offered in (2c) and (2d). This time the narrator is retelling the situation in which Pnin washes the dishes. It takes place after the conversation with the superior who notifies him of his dismissal. Again, the narrator decides to play with the sound of the verb *dipped* /dɪpt/ and the adjective *deep* /diːp/. A similar pronunciation of these words is not marked in the TTs. In the Polish version a preponderance for semantic treatment is noticeable and results in a complete reduction of the sound effect. Meanwhile, Ilyin turns the homophony into a consonance. He changes the quality of the sound and exposes the consonant /k/ by repeating it three times throughout the passage.

The narrator in *Pnin* is gifted with remarkable perceptiveness. Thanks to this, he notices the smallest details of the world and gives them their own shape and meaning. At the beginning of the last chapter he relates his first meeting with Pnin's family, specifically with Timofey's father – a respected oculist. In anticipation of the appointment, he notices the spouses. When the husband leaves, a young officer comes to the woman and kisses her hand. Initially he is surprised by this fact, yet his subtle reflections allow the readers to guess that the couple are having an affair. The narrator vividly juxtaposes words with a similar pronunciation, which provides the scene with an amusing tone. The first word, the *eyelet* /ˈaɪlət/, is a decorative element, a small hole with thread around the edge as part of a design (*CED*: online). The ornament adorns the lady's glove. The second one represents an old-fashioned verb *to ail* (ailed) /eɪld/ and pertains to being ill (*CED*: online). The statement that the officer gets rid of his ailments after the conversation may be deciphered as ironic. The translation procedure used in this passage erases a sonic parallelism introducing a humorous undertone to the incident. Both Kołyszko and Ilyin do not find a one-word equivalent for the verb *to ail* so they clarify it. Similarly to the previous example, the Polish version is faithful on the semantic level, whereas the Russian version attempts to preserve the rhythm of the original. By adding the adjective *круглый* (round), Ilyin favours a /k/ sound. Moreover, he

also introduces the alliterative doublet *неведомый недуг* (mysterious ailment) and, just like the narrator, plays with the sound and creates a diverting result.

Agnominations

While translation procedures applied in the Polish and Russian translations do not always reproduce Nabokov's semantic and phonetic experiments, in *Pnin* agnominations are those puns whose rendering may be viewed as a successful achievement. Contrary to alliteration, in agnominations whole lexical units are repeated rather than separate sounds. On the phonetic level, they produce a characteristic echoing effect. The initial lexical units (a base) are gradually reduced to smaller pieces. Consequently, all the repeated words have meanings that do not cover the same semantic field. The target versions demonstrate that both translators do not always expect to provide a literal translation, which sometimes does not meet either the readers' demands or the author's intention. Semantic adequacy then yields to aesthetic form. Occasionally, calques are created; however, their phonetic and semantic convergence with the original is coincidental and based on their etymological correspondence.

No.	ST (1957)	TT in Polish (1993)	Procedures	TT in Russian (2012)	Procedures
a	the **Ashcan** School or the **Cache Cache** School or the **Cancan** School (88).	Twierdził, że nie istnieje nic takiego, jak szkoła **Ashcan,** szkoła **Cache-Cache** lub szkoła **Cancan** (89).	**PUN ⇨ PUN**	Он учил, что не существует ни **Мусорной** школы, ни **Мизерной** школы, ни школы **Мазутной** (87).	**PUN ⇨ RELATED RHETORICAL DEVICE**
b	all kinds of things**, seascapes, escapes, capes** (86).	najrozmaitsze rzeczy: **pejzaże, wojaże, jeże…**(85).	**PUN ⇨ PUN**	должны находить, всякую всячину: **побег, поморье, полуостров** (87).	**PUN ⇨ RELATED RHETORICAL DEVICE**
c	**neurotic** tree trunks, **erotic** galoshes (86).	**neurotyczne** pnie drzew, **erotyczne** kalosze (85).	**PUN ⇨ PUN**	**невротические** стволы, **эротические** галоши (87).	**PUN ⇨ PUN**
d	**rosewood** sofa, **morose** etageres (114).	**romantyczna** sofa z palisandru, **posępne** etażerki (115).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**	**романтический** палисандровый диван, **угрюмые** этажерки (116).	**PUN ⇨ NON-PUN**
e	he had little experience in **manoeuvring** on rutty narrow roads,	miał niewielkie doświadczenie w **manewrowaniu** pojazdem na	**PUN ⇨ PUN**	он не обладал значительным опытом **маневрирования** на узких,	**PUN ⇨ PUN**

	with ditches and even **ravines** (113).	wyjeżdżonych wąskich dróżkach z przepastnymi **rowami a nawet parowami** (112).		ухабистых дорогах со **рвами** и чуть ли не **оврагами** по обеим сторонам (111).	

Table 3. Agnominations

In *Pnin*, apart from the eponymous character, the narrator also sketches Victor, Pnin's son. He considers him a very intelligent and gifted person who does not respect most of his teachers. However, one of them – Professor Lake – exerts a great influence on the young student. He is acclaimed by Victor because of his belief that the most important quality in art is the individual talent of its creator. He objects to being an advocate of popular trends and an adherent of certain movements and schools. To emphasize his contempt for them, the narrator enumerates insignificant schools such as the *Ashcan School*, *Cache Cache School* and *Can Can School* (3a). He plays with their names by splitting the first proper name into the syllables *ash* and *can* and then repeating them in the following words. This sequence provides the narrator's utterance with a specific rhythm. In addition, two of the schools contain references to culture. For instance, *Ashcan School* was an artistic movement in the United States popular in the early 20th century. It was known for works portraying scenes of daily life in New York, often in poorer neighbourhoods of the city (Jeansonne 1997: 4). *The Can Can* is associated with a high-energy, physically demanding dance that became a popular music hall dance in the 1840s, continuing in popularity in French cabaret to this day (Christout 1998: 52). *Cache Cache* is not related to any area of culture. However, linguistically it represents a repetition of the near-anagram formed from *Ashcan*, and *cache* is a homophone of *cash*.

In Kołyszko's translation these names are simply transferred into Polish. As a result, in the TT their "cultural informativeness" is decreased because probably not all TRs have access to their context. The *Can Can* may be an exception since it is familiar to Polish recipients. The proper pronunciation of these words (*Ashcan* and *Cache*) may be also problematic so the "echo" effect may remain unnoticed. Moreover, the general strategy applied by the translator in the translation of puns, which is domestication, in this particular case is abandoned. Probably, this is because for the first time the onomastic element serves as a specific wordplay. Retaining the phrase in its original form intensifies its strangeness. This would have been partially eliminated if the translator had provided a footnote referring to the American art movement or even the pronunciation of the names.

Ilyin uses a very different strategy that relies on making the pun more approachable to Russian recipients. He domesticates the phrase by inventing his own names for schools. His schools start with a repetitive consonant /m/ and create the following sequence: *мусорный* (related to garbage), *мизерный* (miserable) and *мазутный* (related to heavy, low quality fuel oil). On the one hand, in comparison to Kołyszko, Ilyin reinforces the national colour of the TT. On the other hand, these terms evoke certain associations. For example, garbage may allude to uselessness and *mazut* to blackness. Applying such concepts to a school influences its negative image. On the aesthetic level, Ilyin's translation appears to be more vivid and figurative. Even though he does not use pure agnominations, the alliterative chains he creates help to preserve the aesthetic power of the original.

In the novel, the narrator serves as Nabokov's *alter ego*. The writer hides behind him and marks his presence in his utterances. They both share the same opinions about cultural and social life in America. They discuss social phenomena by means of sarcasm or irony. In his characteristics of Victor, the narrator depicts him as artistically inclined. These predilections affect the way he perceives the world. His exaggerated sensitivity and avoiding people lead his parents (Liza and Eric Wind) to be worried about him. In order to diagnose the mental disorder Victor is suffering from, they decide on various psychological tests. When none of these tests provide satisfactory results, they realize that what Victor has is an artistic soul. In this fragment, Nabokov presents himself as a bitter opponent of the psychoanalytic interpretation of art and of the human psyche. The following comment expressed in *Strong Opinions* trenchantly depicts the novelist's attitude:

> Freudism and all it has tainted with its grotesque implications and methods appears to me to be one of the vilest deceits practiced by people on themselves and on others. I reject it utterly, along with a few other medieval items still adored by the ignorant, the conventional or the very sick (Nabokov 1973: 23–24).

In other words, Nabokov defines Freudism as a medieval and harmful theory which detects sexual overtones in simple and common gestures and situations. He argues that it creates a "vulgar, disgusting and primitive world" (Nabokov 1973: 23) because it is mainly based on biological issues. He states that healing mental disorders with the help of ancient myths is nonsense and distorts reality. Furthermore, Nabokov also objects to the application of this method in the interpretation of his works. In the preface to the novel *Bend Sinister*, he writes: "All my books should be stamped Freudians, Keep Out" (Nabokov 1974: 12). When, in *Pnin*, the narrator mentions a psychological test called the Rorschach test in which the subject's perception of inkblots is analyzed, he sarcastically gives readers to understand that this method is ineffective because it does not take into consideration individual personalities. He distinguishes certain associations that the inkblots should evoke in children's minds and at the same time plays with the sound of such words as: *seascapes*, *escapes*, *capes* (3b).

In the Polish translation, Kołyszko recreates the repetition of certain sounds. She accents the sound /ż/, characteristic for the Polish language, which provides the passage with coarseness and resonance. Moreover, she tries to save the original vividness and substitutes the SL images with approximate images in the TT. For example, she exchanges *seascapes* for *landscapes*. The difference between the objects depicted in such works is obvious. Whereas the first one prioritizes the sea and its views, the second one exposes the land. The same modification is used in *escape* substituted by *voyage*. Despite the fact that they both are connected with changing place and movement, they are caused by different external factors. *Escape* suggests a compulsive dislocation on account of danger or persecution; it is an act of breaking free from confinement. In the Polish version, the constraint is eliminated because the voyage signifies rather a free decision and personal commitment. Although the analyzed concepts, to some extent, belong to the same semantic fields (PAINTINGS, DISLOCATION), the last concept does not correspond with the original. The Polish translator resolves to elude the geographical term *capes*. If it had been translated literally into Polish as *przylądek*, it would not have provided the relevant morphological repetition of the syllable *-że* at the end of the phrase. The dictionary equivalent would have been too long and would have destroyed the syllable arrangement, which in the original is 2+2+1. In addition,

the prominent /rz/ occurs in the first syllable which would have totally distorted the flow of the expression. Introducing *jeże* (hedgehogs) is a well-chosen option. It is shorter and retains the sound and rhythm parallelism. Ilyin deals with this passage in a different way. He resorts to the exploitation of the morphological derivation by adding the alliterative prefix "po-" (*no-)* to stem words: *run* (*бег*), *sea* (*море*) and *island* (*остров*). He achieves denotative equivalence in replicating these models at the cost of the quality of the pun.

Apart from transference and substitution, rendering agnominations may take other forms. Translation methods will not be the same in each case. Their implementation is conditioned by the morphological, grammatical and semantic features of the source units. In *Pnin*, there are examples of agnominations which simply do not pose translatorial challenges. Their etymological and current forms and the meanings in English are almost the same, or approximate, as in other languages (3c). The fragment concerning psychological tests contains lexical units (*neurotic – erotic*) that originate from Greek. *Neurotic* derives from *neuron* and means affected by neurosis, *erotic* comes from *erotikos* and designates something caused by passionate love. These notions refer to inner states in which human beings may remain. They also perfectly fit the general psychoanalytic context and maintain the humorous sneer. The translators decide to incorporate them into the TTs as these concepts are also widely used in their native languages. They change them according to grammatical and morphological rules – so in the Polish version it is *neurotyczny – erotyczny*, in Russian *невротический – эротический*. Consequently, they coincidentally retain the illusion of a similarity between them.

Such an illusion may be violated when the endeavour for semantic appropriateness is tenacious and blinds the translators to the aesthetic value of the original. This is visible in rendering the words *rosewood* and *morose* (3d). Their apparent likeness lies in the same root – *rose* – epitomizing love, romance, and pleasant feelings. However, these associations are faulty when the same root becomes a part of *mo-rose*. Now, the prefix *mo-* makes the *rose* in the new phrase attain a different meaning. The initial images are displaced by sadness and gloominess. Russian and Polish versions do not provide readers with the effect of astonishment resulting from the "false semantic" of the rose. The translators introduce dictionary equivalents *romantyczny* (romantic) – *posępny* (gloomy) and *романтический – угрюмый*, which, to some degree, present contrasting feelings but phonetically do not emulate any sounds.

In translation practice, it is hard for translators to create a better effect than the author does. There are such instances in *Pnin*. One of them is illustrated in the fragment about Pnin's driving lessons (3e). The enumeration of the elements of the landscape: rutty narrow roads, ravines and ditches, gives readers the impression that they are sitting in Pnin's car and are passing by all these objects. This extract also has a characteristic rhythm created by the sound /r/ which imitates the whirr of the engine in Pnin's car. Anagrams in this fragment are based on the phonetic resemblance between two lexemes *maneuvering* /məˈnuːvəʳrɪŋ/ and *ravines* /rəˈviːnz/. Both translators introduce a significant modification by adding a third word which is a stem word for the two other components. In the Polish translation it is the lexeme *rów*, in the Russian it is *ров*; both designate a ditch whose occurrence may be noted also in the original. The amplification of this device leads to the following sequence: *manew–row–anie*, *row–ami*, *ra–row–ami* in the Polish version and *маневри–ров–ание*, *рва–ми*, *овр–агами* in the Russian It must be noted that on account of morphological and grammatical varieties in the Russian translation, there is no exact repetition of the mentioned lexeme. The form of the second component is motivated by the grammatical category of the instrumental case. The

third element is a near-anagram which, after rearranging its letters, changes into the word *ров*.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to identify procedures used for conveying wordplay in Polish and Russian translations of *Pnin* by Vladimir Nabokov. The analysis comprised three groups of puns which dominate in the narrator's speech – near-anagrams, near-homophones and agnominations.

The investigation shows that near-anagrams appear to be an insurmountable obstacle. In both TTs there are no examples in which they are retained. This may have been dictated by structural differences in the Polish and Russian languages. Another barrier in their reproduction is their metaphorical provenance because the translators should keep a full correspondence between the source and the target domains in the original and their "translational" counterparts. However, this is not the only aim to be fulfilled since the concepts or schemata produced by certain metaphors should also be concurrent. The translators strive for a literal translation rather than for linguistic experiments, but such an approach has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, readers receive a semantically equivalent and reliable text. On the other hand, they only partially become familiar with the mind style of the narrator, since very often characteristic elements of his speech (the anagrams) are lost.

Translation of puns based on phonological properties of language was also a challenging task. The translators do not always have the opportunity to use all the sound effects characteristic of Polish and Russian. Sometimes they use devices such as consonance or alliteration; however, they do not attain the same "pun-related quality" as the original. In this situation, Kołyszko and Ilyin turn to a general strategy which is to draw a semantic parallel between the ST and the TT. Such a solution is highly appropriate because very often finding the "phonetic" equivalent in the TLs is impossible.

The rendition of agnominations brings the most fruitful results. For the first time, the general strategy is precisely formulated. In most cases puns are domesticated, but it does not interfere with the content of the novel. This group of puns gives the translators more freedom and does not limit their native languages. The translators successfully turn to procedures based on word formation. They stretch the words by adding prefixes, and opt for the preservation of a regularity of rhythm and poetic force. They use all the grammatical and lexical resources which are at their respective languages' disposal.

Notes:

1 The inspiration for this article is the book *Świat za słowami Vladimira Nabokova. Gry i zabawy słowne* by Anna Ginter (2003).

2 See: Nosik 1995, Averin 1999, Besemeres 2000, Bodenstein 1977, Casmier 2004, Toker 1989, Naiman 2010, Dragunoiu 2011, Vries, Jonhson 2006, Glyn 2011, Ginter 2003; 2015, Baczewska-Murdzek 2012; 2016, NDiaye 2013, Ułanek 2018; 2019.

3 In this article the words "pun" and "wordplay" are used interchangeably.

4 This does not mean that only Kołyszko has translated Nabokov's prose. Polish translators of Nabokov include: Leszek Engelking, Robert Stiller, Eugenia Siemaszkiewicz, Michał Kłobukowski

and Stanisław Barańczak. Anna Kołyszko (1953–2009) rendered three of Nabokov's novels – *Pnin*, *Look at the Harlequins!* and *Splendor*.
5 See my article: Sounds that Create the Image. On Polish and Russian Translations of Alliteration in *Pnin* by Vladimir Nabokov. 2019. In *Tertium. Półrocznik Językoznawczy,* 2019.
6 Statistics are mine.

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Dr Olga Letka-Spychała
Institute of Eastern Slavic Philology
University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
E-mail olga.letka@uwm.edu.pl

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